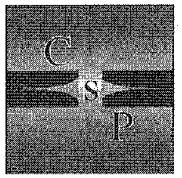
Reading a Dynamic Canvas: Adornment in the Ancient Mediterranean World

Edited by

Cynthia S. Colburn and Maura K. Heyn



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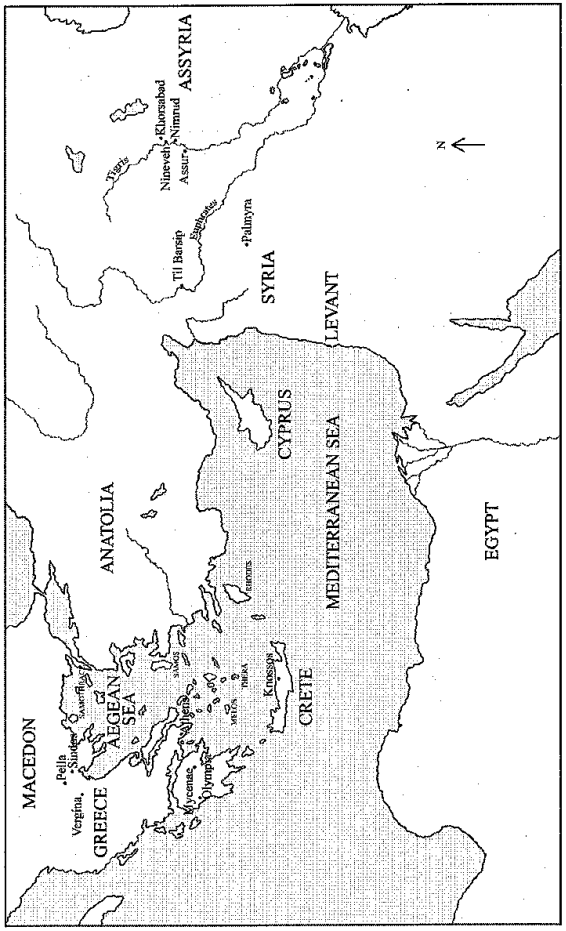

INTRODUCTION

BODILY ADORNMENT AND IDENTITY

CYNTHIA S. COLBURN AND MAURA K. HEYN

Personal adornment, as an extension of the body, is a crucial component in the dynamic system of communication within societies.[1] The essays in this volume focus on the use of bodily adornment as a means of shaping and communicating identity, and thereby facilitating interaction, negotiating difference, and creating or crossing boundaries. As will be seen, these different uses are not exclusive, and the meaning of adornment is rarely one-dimensional. Additionally, although identities can be passively conveyed in certain cases, the adornment of the body is more often an active process used to shape embodied identities,[2] such as social status, ethnicity, gender, and age. As a result of its dynamic and performative nature, the body can often convey meaning more powerfully and convincingly than verbal communication. We must stress, however, that although the title of this volume emphasizes our desire to read or interpret bodily adornment in disparate times and places throughout the Mediterranean, adornment is not so easily legible and does not necessarily reflect actual lived experience. Rather, bodily adornment, and the performances that accompany it, can be manipulated to conceal or exaggerate reality, thus speaking more to identity discourse than to actual lived experience.[3] The interpretation of such discourse must be grounded

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[1] Lynn M. Meskell and Rosemary A. Joyce, *Embodied Lives: Figuring Ancient Maya and Egyptian Experience* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 10.

[2] Rosemary A. Joyce, "Archaeology of the Body," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 34 (2005): 143.

[3] Genevieve Fisher and Diana DiPaolo Loren, "Embodying Identity in Archaeology: Introduction," *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 13, no. 2 (2003): 227; Diana DiPaolo Loren, "Social Skins: Orthodoxies and Practices of Dressing in the Early Colonial Lower Mississippi Valley," *Journal of Social Archaeology* 1, no. 2 (2001): 172-89.

in an understanding of the context-specific and negotiable nature of adornment.

The study of personal adornment and its function in society has a rich history.[4] However, in the last several decades, the influence of theorists like Foucault, Merleau-Ponty, and Bourdieu has resulted in more critical attention paid to the categories and definitions used when considering the body, dress, and identity.[5] Scholars from a variety of disciplines have introduced new ways of conceptualizing the "lived" body and understanding how it is modified as a means of shaping identities in social contexts.[6] Some of these recent publications have focused explicitly on the body itself,[7] while others have given more attention to the manipulation of identity through the modification of the body (by dress, adornment, or other means).[8] The evidence utilized in these approaches ranges from archaeological to artistic and literary sources. The influence of social theory is also seen in another realm where the body, in particular the

[4] For example, see Mary Ellen Roach and Joanne B. Eicher, eds., *Dress, Adornment and the Social Order*, (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1965); Justine M. Cordwell and Ronald A. Schwarz, eds., *The Fabrics of Culture: The Anthropology of Clothing and Adornment* (New York, Paris and The Hague: Mouton Publishers, 1979); or Mary Ellen Roach-Higgins, Joanne B. Eicher, and Kim K.P. Johnson, eds., *Dress and Identity* (New York: Berg, 1995). For the Roman world, an important recent publication is: Judith Lynn Sebesta and Larissa Bonfante, eds., *The World of Roman Costume* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2001).

[5] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, trans. Alan Sheridan (London: Penguin, 1977); Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception* (London: Routledge, 1989); Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), and *Distinction: a Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984).

[6] Fisher and Loren, 225-30.

[7] Yannis Hamilakis, Mark Pluciennik, and Sarah Tarlow, eds., *Thinking through the Body: Archaeologies of Corporeality* (New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 2002); Alison E. Rautman, ed., *Reading the Body: Representation and Remains in the Archaeological Record* (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000).

[8] Liza Cleland, Mary Harlow and Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones, eds., *The Clothed Body in the Ancient World* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2005); Dominic Montserrat, ed., *Changing Bodies, Changing Meanings, Studies on the Human Body in Antiquity* (New York and London: Routledge, 1998); Alexandra Warwick and Dani Cavallaro, *Fashioning the Frame. Boundaries, Dress and the Body* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 1998).

dressed body, takes center stage: the fashion industry.[9] Our volume takes advantage of the renaissance of interest in these topics, but also fills an existing gap in the published literature with its focus on archaeological evidence from the ancient Mediterranean world.

This collection of seven essays evolved from a session on the social significance of personal adornment at the annual meeting of the *Archaeological Institute of America* in Montreal, 2006. The essays, which are united by their focus on material and visual evidence, cover a broad chronological and geographical span, from the ancient Near East to Roman Britain, and bring together innovative scholarly work on adornment by an international group of art historians and archaeologists. While the theoretical background to the study of dress is considered in the essays that follow, this volume's ultimate contribution is to make archeological evidence central to arguments regarding adornment and identity. This attention to the archaeological evidence makes the volume a valuable resource, as those working with material or visual culture face unique methodological and theoretical challenges to the study of personal adornment.

Archaeologists and art historians generally turn to three main classes of evidence when studying adornment. First is the adorned body itself. In rare and welcome cases, adorned bodies from contexts of the living have been discovered.[10] However, most examples of the actual adorned body come from mortuary contexts in which the remains of the deceased and his/her costuming are preserved. Mortuary remains present a number of problems. First, because burials are by definition the remains of highly ritualized activities,[11] it is difficult and sometimes impossible to know if the costuming of the deceased was worn this way in life (if at all); created solely for funerary purposes; or given to the deceased as funerary offerings by the living. These issues are discussed in the essays by Alexis Castor,

[9] Joanne Entwistle, *The Fashioned Body: Fashion, Dress, and Modern Social Theory* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000).

[10] See, for example, Michelle Marcus, "Incorporating the Body: Adornment, Gender, and Social Identity in Ancient Iran," *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 3, no. 2 (1993): 157-78. In this article, Marcus discusses individual and group identity at Hasanlu, Iran based on her analysis of lion pins. These pins were worn by individuals who died trapped inside a monumental public building at the site. Another example is the shrine of Anemospilia at Archanes, Crete, where the remains of several humans killed in an earthquake while performing some kind of ritual act were discovered. Yannis A. Sakellarakis and Efi Sapouna-Sakellaraki, *Archanes* (Athens: Ekdotike Athenon S.A., 1991), 146, 151.

[11] Ellen Pader, *Symbolism, Social Relations and the Interpretation of Mortuary Remains* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 1982), 99.

Cynthia Colburn, and Judith Rosten. Second, we cannot be certain who would have seen the adorned body of the deceased. Notwithstanding these complexities, the ritual performances associated with burial likely played an important role in identity construction in the past,[12] much as they do today. The second class of evidence used in the analysis of adornment includes material remains of personal adornment, such as jewelry and clothing, found divorced from the body. Once again, the archaeological context of the finds plays a major role in their interpretation, as it is difficult to know who may have worn such items, how the body was adorned, and the context and performances of the adorned body. This is where the third class of evidence, visual representations, can help, although they must be treated with caution. Images, in this case, could commemorate embodied practices, expand the site of the embodied person,[13] and shape or reinforce ideologies.[14]

Important Themes

In considering the analyses of dress and adornment presented in this volume, one of the major themes to emerge is the power of bodily adornment in negotiating social status. Here social status is defined very broadly to mean one's social worth or value. Adornment may, therefore, be used to enhance or define one's social value by highlighting unequal access to political, economic or ideological sources of power.

In several of the essays in this volume, the display of adornment reserved for, or characteristic of, the ruling power is utilized as a means of social differentiation. For example, in the case of costuming in the Neo-Assyrian Empire, as argued by Guralnick, some motifs are reserved exclusively for the king. Notably, even gods and genies are dressed in less elaborate garments than the ruler. In stark contrast to this is the situation in Greece in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. Here gods and mythological characters borrow the most elaborate Assyrian motifs for their garments, clearly indicating the negotiation of a very differently structured social hierarchy. Turning to the Roman world, Rosten argues that personal adornment items associated with Roman styles of clothing

[12] See, for example, Ian Morris, *Death-Ritual and Social Structure in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992). See also Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

[13] Joyce, "Archaeology of the Body," 142, with citations.

[14] See, for example, Senta C. German, *Performance, Power and the Art of the Aegean Bronze Age* (Oxford: Archaeopress 2005), 9, 10-17.

were used to indicate elite status in south-east Britain, while Heyn contends that in Roman Palmyra the production of frontal funerary busts stemmed from similar motivations. In the case of Palmyra, not only the medium of portraiture, but also certain styles of dress worn in these portraits reveal a concern to self-identify with the Roman rulers.

The original provenance of adornment items, whether actual or perceived, can also enhance their role in negotiating social status. For example, focusing on the Bronze Age Aegean, Colburn argues that the archaeological context of imported materials, objects, or styles used as bodily adornment suggests that they functioned as prestige items in the creation and negotiation of an elite identity locally, and perhaps allowed the Minoan and Mycenaean elite entry into social negotiations well beyond the local realm. Castor makes a case that imports from southern Greece served as signifiers of high social status in Macedonian burials during the Archaic period. This concern to identify with southern Greece would continue in the Late Classical period, when trends in Macedonian funerary ritual echoed those of their neighbors to the south, where an emphasis on modesty of display prevailed.

Several of the papers in this volume focus on the power of dress in religious communities or in the context of ritual activities (see Castor, Chapin, Gawlinski and Heyn, this volume). The close connection between dress and status is also relevant in these gatherings.[15] For example, the standing of certain members in the group, as a result of factors such as their level of initiation or the activities which they perform, is often signaled by their dress. The corollary for the creation of high status by means of dress is the ability to control or to impose restrictions on other members of the group by means of a strictly enforced dress code.[16] This concern about appearance is justified in some cases by the equation of adherence to a particular style of dress with the wearer's religiosity (see Gawlinski, this volume). In other words, the external appearance is

[15] See also Linda B. Arthur, ed., *Undressing Religion: Commitment and Conversion from a cross-cultural perspective* (Oxford, New York: Berg, 2000)

[16] Linda B. Arthur, *Religion, Dress and the Body*, 1; The law of hijab (compulsory veiling in public spaces) in various Islamic communities, although certainly not one dimensional in its significance, can be considered one instance of such control. See Faegheh Shirazi, "Islamic Religion and Women's Dress Code: The Islamic Republic of Iran," in *Undressing Religion: Commitment and Conversion from a cross-cultural perspective*, ed. Linda B. Arthur (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2000), 115.

assumed to reflect the internal commitment.[17] Dress codes within religious communities can also strengthen the sense of belonging for members of such communities by demarcating them within the larger population.[18]

The prevalent use of adornment to shape or communicate social status is evident in the ubiquity of sumptuary laws in the past, which prevented people of a lower social standing from copying the adornment of the upper classes.[19] The primary goal of such laws was to preserve class distinctions. However, similar restrictions on dress can be used to maintain other types of asymmetrical power relationships in society. An example of this is seen in the regulation of what initiates could wear in some of the rites of the Mystery cults of ancient Greece (see Gawlinski, this volume). In this case, the position of each cult member in the external community was also reflected in what he/she was legally allowed to wear in internal cult activities.

While the negotiation of social status through personal adornment is the focus of most of the essays in this volume, the multifaceted nature of embodied identities is also made clear, as the body and its presentation are shown to negotiate an array of additional individual and group identities, such as age, gender, and ethnicity. The overlapping of identities draws attention to the complexity of identity construction in the ancient Mediterranean world. For example, in addition to the use of elaborate motifs on garments to communicate the elevated status of the king in Assyria, the fact that simplified versions of these motifs appear on the garments of the king's children and queen provides some insight into the roles of age and gender in Assyrian society (see Guralnick, this volume). In the Xeste 3 frescoes, it appears that personal adornment is used not only to negotiate elite and/or religious status, but perhaps age and gender as well, as older women are clearly distinguished from younger women, as are males from females (see Chapin and Colburn, this volume). Finally, it is possible that the Macedonian elite are attempting to communicate across

[17] See also Sandra Lee Evenson and David J. Trayte, "Dress and Interaction in Contending Cultures: Eastern Dakota and Euroamericans in Nineteenth Century Minnesota," in *Religion, Dress and the Body*, ed. Linda B. Arthur (New York: Berg, 1999), 109.

[18] See also Linda B. Arthur, ed., *Religion, Dress and the Body* (New York: Berg, 1999), 3-4.

[19] Elizabeth B. Hurlock, "Sumptuary Law," in *Dress, Adornment, and the Social Order*, ed. Mary Ellen Roach and Joanne B. Eicher (New York, London and Sydney: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1965), 295-97. See also Diana DiPaolo Loren, "Refashioning a Body Politic in Colonial Lousiana," *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 13.2 (2003): 233-36.

ethnic lines through their adoption of southern Greek traditions in the personal adornment of the deceased. Although it is often difficult to clearly distinguish between such overlapping identities, sensitivity to this phenomenon is necessary in order to appreciate fully the multivalent power of dress.

Contributions to the volume

The first two essays of this volume focus on the Bronze Age, beginning with Cynthia Colburn's essay, "Exotica and the Body in the Minoan and Mycenaean Worlds." Colburn focuses on the material and iconographical evidence for the use and display of exotic imports as personal adornment in the Bronze Age Aegean. As bodily adornment, these imports would have been extremely visible and may have taken on a performative aspect, especially during ceremonies or rituals. Such public events and the objects and costumes accompanying them can greatly influence social memory and, as Colburn argues, were likely used in the negotiation of social boundaries.

Anne Chapin's "The Lady of the Landscape: An Investigation of Aegean Costuming and the Xeste 3 Frescoes" explores the recently restored and unusual image of a woman from the Late Bronze Age Aegean frescoes from Xeste 3, in the Cycladic town of Akrotiri on Thera. The woman wears an elaborate costume, which is nearly unique in Aegean iconography. Chapin's study investigates the social significance of this unusual costume by placing it within its immediate context at Xeste 3, as well as the wider context of Neopalatial Aegean costuming. She concludes that the unusual costume worn by the "Lady of the Landscape" identifies her as someone who had a distinct identity, and perhaps a privileged social status, but probably not an exceptionally high rank. This final conclusion is rather surprising, and shows the value of placing the costume in context in order to understand the subtlety of meaning in Aegean iconography.

Eleanor Guralnick's essay, "Fabric Patterns as Symbols of Status in the Near East and Early Greece," analyzes how dress was used to communicate diverse ideologies in the Neo-Assyrian Empire (883-626 B.C.) and ancient Greece (eighth to sixth centuries B.C.). By highlighting the differences between the dress of the king and those who are depicted around him in the Neo-Assyrian palace reliefs, Guralnick clearly demonstrates the close links between fabric decoration and social status in the Near East. She then crosses the Mediterranean to look at similar evidence for the power of dress in Greece, where gods and figures from mythology are distinguished by their dress. Even more interesting,

perhaps, is the difference seen after the transformation of the government in Athens: the gods and mythological figures are no longer depicted with garments that are more elaborate than those worn by humans. Guralnick speculates that this change in the iconography may be due to the rise of democracy.

The next two articles explore personal adornment in the ancient Greek world. In "Grave Garb: Jewelry in Macedonian Burial Rituals," Alexis Castor begins by discussing the elaborate jewelry found in the Archaic Macedonian cemeteries at Sindos, Vergina, and Pella. Castor then juxtaposes the dazzle and wealth of the mortuary jewelry from these sites with the noticeably less opulent jewelry from Early Classical cemeteries in the region. While earlier discussions of this phenomenon suggested an economic downturn in the region, Castor argues for a more nuanced explanation that takes into consideration the social function of jewelry in the grave and the political context of the period. Specifically, she suggests that the more modest use of jewelry in Early Classical burials may reflect a shift in attitudes toward the consumption of wealth in the funerary context that allies the Macedonian elite with their Greek neighbors to the south.

Laura Gawlinski's essay, "Fashioning Initiates: Dress at the Mysteries," analyzes the use of clothing as a means of visual definition at the Mysteries, a special kind of rite of passage in ancient Greece. Gawlinski explores the evidence for specialized initiate dress in the Eleusinian and Andanian Mysteries, with additional information from the Samothracian and Dionysian Mysteries. Although the dress of the initiate was never fixed in every detail, Gawlinski demonstrates that adornment played a role both during the ritual and beyond, and certain identifying characteristics of initiate iconography were markedly dress-oriented. For example, in the social setting of the Mysteries, clothing was used to set apart initiates as a specific group within the larger religious ritual. In addition, the public and communal nature of some of the ritual activities resulted in the use of dress to reinforce external social hierarchies, with evidence for the visual marking of gender, age and slave status. Beyond the ceremony, an item of clothing could continue to mark an individual as having undergone initiation. Thus, according to Gawlinski, clothing externally communicated the inward change that resulted from initiation into the Mysteries.

The final essays in this volume analyze the importance of personal adornment in the Roman world. In "Sacerdotal Activities and Parthian Dress in Roman Palmyra," Maura Heyn argues against earlier scholarship that reduced the symbolism of Parthian dress in the funerary portraiture

from Palmyra, a caravan city in the eastern Roman Empire, to a simple desire for fancy attire. Through a survey of the evidence for Parthian dress in the tombs and sanctuaries of the city, Heyn demonstrates that dress instead signaled the participation of the deceased in the ritual activities of the city. Her conclusions highlight the complexity of the social situation in a cross-cultural world. It was a world where the elite simultaneously drew on a variety of symbols which were powerful for different reasons: some because of their connection to the ruling power, and others because they served as metaphors for significant activities in the city.

Finally, Judith Rosten's essay, "Appearance, Diversity, and Identity in Roman Britain," takes us to the other end of the Roman Empire. Using Hertfordshire as a regional case study, Rosten demonstrates that appearance (as manipulated by personal adornment as well as grooming techniques) was governed by the site type as well as the activities performed at each site. In other words, those sites with closer connections to the Roman world contained artifacts which indicated that the occupants were wearing more "Continental" styles of clothing, whereas those in the smaller towns retained more traditional styles of dress. In conjunction with her analysis of settlement assemblages, Rosten also considers the burial data from four of the sites. She comes to the conclusion that differential use of personal adornment at the various sites diminished markedly in the funerary sphere. Thus, Rosten speculates that there were different priorities, or social trends, governing the use of adornment in the two contexts (lived and funerary).

Conclusion

The goal of this volume is to contribute to our understanding of the complex role of bodily adornment in the negotiation of ancient identities. The essays that follow articulate the difficulties and rewards of using material evidence to understand the significance of adornment. A contextual interpretation of this material culture is clearly paramount. Chapin's paper on the Lady of the Landscape is an illustration of this, with her cautionary tale regarding the presumption of elite political or religious status without careful study of the context of works of art, in this case a Late Bronze Age fresco from Akrotiri, Thera. The multivalent nature of bodily adornment, as well as the multiplicity of (often overlapping) factors which make it such a powerful medium of communication can also complicate its interpretation. With their careful consideration of the material evidence, the contributors to this volume not only provide

convincing interpretations, but also open the door for further analyses of this fascinating material.

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CHAPTER ONE

EXOTICA AND THE BODY IN THE MINOAN AND MYCENAEAN WORLDS

CYNTHIA S. COLBURN

Throughout most of the Bronze Age (c. 2500-1200 B.C.), various items were imported from distant lands to the Aegean where they were often used to adorn the body. Some were imported as finished products of bodily adornment, while others were imported as raw materials and then locally crafted into objects such as necklaces, bracelets, diadems, earrings, and clothing and hair ornaments. Prestige technologies such as granulation and filigree, which were sometimes used to embellish jewelry, were also imported. To understand the meaning behind the use of exotic imports as personal adornment, knowledge of the activities and context of the adorned body is critical.[1] The rich archaeological remains from the Aegean Bronze Age provide ample evidence for detailed study. Through a contextual analysis of material and pictorial evidence from select Bronze Age sites in the Aegean, this essay will show how the Minoan and Mycenaean elite used exotic imports as bodily adornment in order to negotiate social identities.[2]

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[1] Genevieve Fisher and Diana DiPaolo Loren, "Embodying Identity in Archaeology: Introduction," *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 13, no. 2 (2003): 226.

[2] For dress and textiles in the Aegean Bronze Age, see, for example, Colette Verlinden, *Les statuettes anthropomorphes crétoises en bronze et en plomb, du III^e millénaire au VII^e siècle av. J.-C., Archaeologia Transatlantica* IV (Providence, RI and Louvain-la Neuve: Art and Archaeology Publications, 1984), 98-112; Elizabeth W. Barber, *Women's Work: The First 20,000 Years* (London and New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1994); *Prehistoric Textiles* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991); Mireille M. Lee, "Deciphering Gender in Minoan Dress," in *Reading the Body: Representations and Remains in the Archaeological Record*, ed. Alison E. Rautman (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 111-23; Robert Laffineur, "Dress, Hair Style and Jewellery in the Thera Wall Paintings," in *The Wall Paintings of Thera: Proceedings of the First International*

The body and its presentation can negotiate a multiplicity of overlapping individual and group identities in social contexts, such as age, gender, ethnicity, and social status.[3] Adornment plays a highly visible and important role in conveying these ideologies by framing the body and, therefore, insulating or distinguishing it from others, or challenging boundaries by establishing important connections across them.[4] In other words, it functions as a culturally specific, nonverbal language used to communicate identity in a performative, and therefore often powerful, way.[5] Analysis of the material and pictorial evidence for exotic goods used as bodily adornment in the Aegean, therefore, may give us some idea of the performances of embodied practices used to shape identity.[6] In other words, although the actual performances that took place in the Bronze Age are lost to us, we can use the extant material and pictorial evidence to reconstruct performances and glean meaning from more static works of art.

Material Evidence

Before launching into a discussion of the material evidence for the use of exotic imports as bodily adornment, it is necessary to discuss some of the limitations of the remains available for study. First, most of the imports discussed here come from burial contexts. This likely results from the fact that personal jewelry items are generally not left behind in settlements. Yet the fact that exotic imports are found primarily in tombs should not negate

Symposium, vol. 2, ed. Susan Sherratt (Athens: Petros M. Nomikos and the Thera Foundation, 2000), 891-95; Paul Rehak, "Crocus Costumes in Aegean Art," in *ΧΑΡΙΣ: Essays in Honor of Sara A. Immerwahr*, ed. Anne P. Chapin (Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2004), 85-100.

[3] Fisher and Loren, 225-26. For an excellent overview and discussion of scholarship on the body and, by extension, adornment, see Rosemary A. Joyce, "Archaeology of the Body," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 34 (2005): 139-58.

[4] Alexandra Warwick and Dani Cavallaro, *Fashioning the Frame: Boundaries, Dress and the Body* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 1998), xvi.

[5] See Lynn M. Meskell and Rosemary A. Joyce, *Embodied Lives: Figuring Ancient Maya and Egyptian Experience* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 10, who argue that "Objects associated with embodiment are more than mere costume or props; they are extensions of the materiality of the embodied person."

[6] For a recent discussion of the role of performance in identity construction in the Aegean Bronze Age, see Senta C. German, *Performance, Power and the Art of the Aegean Bronze Age* (Oxford: Archaeopress 2005), 9, 10-17.

their role in identity construction.[7] On the contrary, the ritual performances associated with burials are often communal events that can have a profound impact on those involved and serve to influence social memory.[8] The discovery of these objects in mortuary contexts, however, does make it difficult to know whether the ornaments were worn during life by the deceased, created explicitly as funerary offerings, or given to the deceased as offerings from the personal adornment of family members or others. Ethnographic parallels suggest that body ornaments are generally the personal property of the deceased rather than offerings.[9] Furthermore, some of the items show clear evidence of wear or repair, which suggests that they were worn during the lifetimes of their owners.[10] Second, in many cases, especially in the Prepalatial and Old Palace periods in Crete, the tombs were either communal in nature or continued to be used over long periods of time, therefore earlier remains were often disturbed.[11] As a result, the finds from these early burials are not generally associated with individual skeletal remains, so it is impossible to know how/if these objects were worn and by whom. That said, the fact that certain inhabitants of the Minoan and Mycenaean worlds went to the trouble of burying their dead with exotic imports used as personal adornment suggests that these objects are socially significant and meaningful. The clustering of these items in what are arguably elite burials appears to confirm this assessment, as does the pictorial evidence discussed below.

[7] Ian Morris, *Death-Ritual and Social Structure in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

[8] Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

[9] Michelle Marcus, "Sex and the Politics of Female Adornment in Pre-Achaemenid Iran (1000-800 B.C.E.)," in *Sexuality in Ancient Art*, ed. Natalie B. Kampen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 45; Ellen Pader, *Symbolism, Social Relations and the Interpretation of Mortuary Remains* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 1982), 58.

[10] Richard B. Seager, *Explorations in the Island of Mochlos* (Boston and New York: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1912), 27; Reynold A. Higgins, *Greek and Roman Jewellery* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press), 1980, 54; Jane Hickman, "Mochlos Gold: A Closer Look" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the *Archaeological Institute of America*, San Francisco, CA, January 2004); Personal communication, 12/13/2003.

[11] Unfortunately, earlier excavators generally showed little interest in skeletal material, and skeletons were not sexed using physical anthropological evidence.

A. Crete

Exotic finished products and raw materials first appear and are used as bodily adornment in Crete in the Early Minoan (EM) II period (c. 2500 B.C.). This date is significant, as these imports may provide early evidence of social stratification preceding the rise of the first Minoan palaces.[12] Raw materials imported at this time include gold, ivory, amethyst, chalcedony, carnelian, and sard.[13] These materials, which were unavailable on Crete, were probably imported from the Near East or Egypt during this early period, where they formed part of an elite visual vocabulary. For example, gold was likely imported from Egypt or Nubia, where it is found in abundance.[14] After its arrival in Crete, however, the gold was then worked into a variety of jewelry types, such as diadems (some with ornamental attachments), link chains, beads of numerous shapes and sizes, flowers and sprays of leaves (some of which may have been attached to the diadems or used as hair ornaments), and ornamental clothing attachments.[15] At least

[12] The Prepalatial period was traditionally considered by many scholars to be largely egalitarian, but more recent research shows signs of social stratification beginning in EM II. See, for example, Jeffrey S. Soles, "Social Ranking in Prepalatial Cemeteries," in *Problems in Greek Prehistory*, ed. Elizabeth B. French and Ken A. Wardle (Bristol: Bristol Classical Press, 1988), 49-61; David E. Wilson, "Knossos Before the Palaces: An Overview of the Early Bronze Age (EM I-III)," in *Knossos: A Labyrinth of History*, ed. Don Evely, Helen Hughes Brock, and Nicoletta Momigliano (The British School at Athens, 1994), 23-44; Kostas Sbonias, *Frükretische Siegel: Ansätze für eine Interpretation der sozial-politischen Entwicklung auf Kreta während der Frühbronzezeit* (Oxford: Tempus Reparatum, 1995); Peter M. Day, "Teapots and Table Manners: Pottery Change and the Consumption of Food and Drink in Early Minoan II Crete," (paper presented at the annual meeting of the *Archaeological Institute of America*, San Francisco, CA, January 2004).

[13] Local materials, such as steatite, were also used to make objects of personal adornment, but their ubiquity indicates a wider, non-elite distribution.

[14] Although Egypt or Nubia and, perhaps Syria, are the most likely sources for the gold imported to Crete in the Early Bronze Age, there are also gold sources in the northeast Aegean and Balkans (Higgins, 9-10). For gold sources, uses, and production techniques in the Aegean Bronze Age, see Keith Branigan, "Gold and Goldworking in Early Bronze Age Crete," *Temple University Aegean Symposium* 8, ed. Philip Betancourt (1983): 15-20; and James Muhly, "Gold Analysis and Sources of Gold in the Bronze Age," *Temple University Aegean Symposium* 8, ed. Philip Betancourt (1983): 1-14.

[15] Although similar to high status objects of adornment from contemporary elite contexts in the Near East, the production techniques used to create the Cretan ornaments are simpler than those used in the Near East, betraying their local

some of the gold ornaments show clear evidence of wear, which suggests that they were used in life before their deposition in tombs.[16]

The ivory reaching Crete during this period is limited to hippopotamus ivory, which was available in both Egypt and Syro-Palestine. Evidence, including a partially worked hippopotamus lower canine found in EM II contexts at Knossos, suggests that the ivory arrived in Crete as a raw material and was subsequently made primarily into seals, some of which could be worn.[17] There is also compelling evidence to indicate that amethyst, carnelian, chalcedony, and sard were imported from the Near East or Egypt as well.[18] Most of the objects made of these materials were likely worked by Cretan craftsmen who turned the raw materials into pendants or beads of a variety of shapes and sizes, which were then strung together into necklaces, bracelets, and, perhaps, anklets.

manufacture. See Lucinda R. McCallum, "Aegean and Near Eastern Gold Jewelry in the Early Bronze Age," *Temple University Aegean Symposium* 8, ed. Philip Betancourt (1983): 21-31.

[16] Cf. n. 10.

[17] Olga H. Krzyszkowska, "Ivory in the Aegean Bronze Age: Elephant Tusk or Hippopotamus Ivory?" *Annual of the British School at Athens* 83 (1988): 227-29; David Reese, "Appendix III: A Hippopotamus Tooth from Hala Sultan Tekke," *Hala Sultan Tekke* 10 (Göteborg: Paul Åströms Förlag, 1998), 140-42.

[18] Amethyst sources in Egypt were exploited from the Old Kingdom. Alfred Lucas and John R. Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (London: Edward Arnold Publishers, 1962), 389. Egyptian chalcedony and sard sources were exploited from Predynastic times. Lucas and Harris, 391-92; Higgins, 37; Carol Andrews, *Ancient Egyptian Jewelry* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1990), 41, 50; Peter Roger Stuart Moorey, *Ancient Mesopotamian Materials and Industries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 96. Sard was also used for jewelry in Mesopotamia, such as in the Royal Cemetery at Ur (c. 2650 - c. 2550 B.C.). Moorey, 96. Carnelian was available in both the Near East and Egypt, although India was likely an important source for carnelian used in the ancient Near East. Andrews, 41; Lucas and Harris, 391; Dominique Collon, *Near Eastern Seals* (London: British Museum Publications, 1990), 35; Moorey, 97-98 with references.

Beads made of faience[19] and gold pendants, or beads decorated with granulation,[20] were arguably initially imported as finished products to Crete, but the technologies for producing faience and granulation were soon imitated and mastered by Cretan craftsmen. These prestige technologies were likely imbued with symbolic significance for a variety of reasons including their origins in distant lands, their association with more established political elites, and the difficulty involved in developing and/or executing them.[21] The filigree technique, which first appears in the subsequent Old Palace period, was probably accorded symbolic value as

[19] The earliest faience products found in Crete come from Mochlos and date to the EM II period. By this time, Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Syria were major centers of faience production (Karen Polinger Foster, *Aegean Faience of the Bronze Age* [New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1979], 27). According to Peltenburg, the early examples from Mochlos, beads in the form of discs, are identical in form to contemporary examples from Cyprus, the Levantine coast, Egypt, and Asia Minor, and should be considered imports (Edgar Peltenburg, "Kissonerga in Cyprus and the Appearance of Faience in the East Mediterranean," in *Trade, Contact, and the Movement of Peoples in the Eastern Mediterranean: Studies in Honour of J. Basil Hennessy*, ed. Stephen Bourke and Jean-Paul Descoeudres [Sydney, 1995], 39).

[20] The only examples of granulation found in Prepalatial contexts in Crete come from Tholos B at Koumasa, which dates from Early Minoan I to Middle Minoan IA. The examples include a gold animal pendant, possibly a lion, the mane represented by granules, and a small gold pierced disc with granulation work around the hole (Stephanos Xanthoudides, *The Vaulted Tombs of Mesara* [London: University Press of Liverpool Ltd., 1924/1971], 29, nos. 386 and 388). Since these examples are unique in Prepalatial Crete, it is likely that they were imported. However, if made locally, the technology for the complex process of granulation would have been imported from the Near East. Notably, granulation is not found in Egypt until the Twelfth Dynasty, more than half a millennium later than its first appearance in Mesopotamia (Andrews, 88), although more-or-less contemporary with the MM IA period. For the spread of the granulation technique throughout the Near East, Egypt, and the Aegean, see Jochem Wolters, *Die Granulation: Geschichte und Technik einer alten Goldschmiedekunst* (Munich: Callwey Verlag, 1983), 68-73.

[21] For an analysis of the ideological significance of a foreign technology imported to Crete from the Near East, see Carl J. Knappett, "Tradition and Innovation in Pottery Forming Technology: Wheel Throwing at Middle Minoan Knossos," *Annual of the British School at Athens* 94 (1999): 101-29 regarding the adoption of the fast potter's wheel. For granulation in particular, see Thea Politis, "Gold and Granulation: Exploring the Social Implications of a Prestige Technology in the Bronze Age Mediterranean," in *The Social Context of Technological Change: Egypt and the Near East, 1650-1550 BC*, ed. Andrew J. Shortland (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2001), 161-94, especially 161, 183, and 189.

well. Finally, Near Eastern seals and Egyptian scarabs were also first imported in the Prepalatial period,[22] and some of them may have been worn.

The relative rarity of Eastern imports during this early period has caused many scholars to overlook them in studies of social organization on Crete. I have argued elsewhere, however, that the limited access to Eastern imports by the Prepalatial inhabitants of Crete provides further evidence for their role as prestige items and, therefore, emblems of elite identity.[23] Further, as many of these items mirror high status objects of adornment from elite contexts in the Near East or Egypt, the use of this visual vocabulary by the newly established Aegean elite may have allowed them to enter elite negotiations beyond the local realm. A brief overview of the context of these imports confirms their importance in negotiating social boundaries, at least on the local level. First, exotic imports are often found in clusters. This is the case at several sites, including the Prepalatial cemetery at Mochlos in Eastern Crete;[24] the cemetery at Archanes-Phourni located in northern Crete nine miles inland from the palace at Knossos;[25]

[22] For a Near Eastern seal found in Prepalatial contexts, see Seager, 22, 111, I.n, fig. 36; and Joan Aruz, "The Silver Cylinder Seal from Mochlos," *Kadmos* 23 (1984): 186-88. For Egyptian scarabs, see Jacqueline Phillips, "The Impact and Implications of the Egyptian and 'Egyptianizing' Material Found in Bronze Age Crete Ca. 3000-Ca. 1100 BC," (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1991), 397 no. 40, 423 no. 58, 643-46 nos. 270-71.

[23] Cynthia Colburn, "Exotica and the Early Minoan Elite: A Biography," (paper presented at the annual meeting of the *College Art Association*, Seattle, WA, February 2004). See also Daniel Miller, *Artefacts as Categories: A Study of Ceramic Variability in Central India* (Cambridge: Cambridge Unversity Press, 1985).

[24] For Tomb I/II/III and its contents, see Seager, 18-40; Jeffrey S. Soles, *The Prepalatial Cemeteries at Mochlos and Gournia and the House Tombs of Bronze Age Crete* (Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1992), 42-51; Aruz, "The Silver Cylinder Seal," 187-89; "Syrian Seals and the Evidence for Cultural Interaction Between the Levant and Crete," in *Sceaux Minoens et Mycéniens*, ed. Walter Müller (Berlin: Mann Verlag, 1995), 3. For Tomb IV/V/VI and its contents, see Seager, 40-56; Soles, *The Prepalatial Cemeteries*, 51-62. For Tomb XIX, see Seager, 70-74; Soles, *The Prepalatial Cemeteries*, 64-66, 71.

[25] For a recent overview of the excavations at Archanes, see Yannis A. Sakellarakis and Efi Sapouna-Sakellaraki, *Archanes: Minoan Crete in a New Light*, 2 vols. (Ammos Publications, 1997); for Tholos Tomb C, see most recently Yiannis Papadatos, *Tholos Tomb Gamma: A Prepalatial Tholos Tomb at Phourni, Archanes* (Philadelphia: INSTAP Academic Press, 2005); for Tholos Tomb E, see Diamantis Panagiotopoulos, *Das Tholosgrab E von Phourni bei Archanes: Studien*

the tholos tombs at Lebena in southern Crete south of the Asterousia Mountains;[26] and Tholos Tomb B at Koumasa in the east Mesara plain.[27] The evidence is clearest at Mochlos, where Richard Seager discovered hundreds of bodily ornaments made primarily of gold, but also of amethyst, carnelian, and chalcedony. All but two of the imports from the Prepalatial cemetery were located within three of the twenty-eight tombs (Tombs I/II/III, IV/V, VI, and XIX).[28] Two of these three tombs, Tomb I/II/III and Tomb IV/V/VI were much larger, more carefully constructed, and better positioned than the rest of the tombs in the cemetery.[29] Additionally, Tomb IV/V/VI is unique at Mochlos in that it is preceded by a paved area and an altar, suggesting that important funerary rites and offerings may have taken place here.[30]

Exotic imports continue to be used as bodily adornment on Crete in the Old Palace period (c. 2000-1700 B.C.), however, some materials, such as ivory and gold, are used with less frequency. While it is possible that examples were equally abundant but did not survive or have not yet been discovered, it is unlikely given the long history of excavation in Crete and the fact that at sites used throughout the Bronze Age, such as the Phourni cemetery at Archanes, Old Palace period examples of gold and ivory are rare. Despite this decrease, numerous examples are still found, such as in the upper level of Tholos Tomb A at Platanos in the Mesara, where gold diadems, beads and pendants; ivory amulets and seals; and faience and sard beads were discovered.[31] Evidence for the use of exotic imports as bodily adornment in life during the Old Palace period comes from the shrine of Anemospilia at Archanes, which appears to have been destroyed by an earthquake in Middle Minoan (MM) IIIA (the first half of the seventeenth century). Here, excavators found the remains of several humans who were killed when the earthquake hit. One of the men, believed by the excavators to be a priest, wore a finger ring on his left

zu einem frühkretischen Grabfund und seinem kulturellen Kontext (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2002).

[26] See most recently Stylianos Alexiou and Peter Warren, *The Early Minoan Tombs of Lebena, Southern Crete* (Sävedalen, Sweden: Paul Åströms Förlag, 2004).

[27] For Koumasa, see Xanthoudides, 3-50.

[28] See catalog of finds in Seager.

[29] Soles, "Social Ranking," 50-51; *The Prepalatial Cemeteries*, 42-62; Jeffrey S. Soles, "From Ugarit to Mochlos: Remnants of an Ancient Voyage," in *Emporia: Aegeans in the Central and Eastern Mediterranean*, vol. I, ed. R. Laffineur and Emanuele Greco (Liège, Belgium: Université de Liège, 2005), 438.

[30] Soles, *The Prepalatial Cemeteries*, 56-57.

[31] Xanthoudides, 88-125.

hand, and an agate seal on his wrist.[32] The context in which the figure with bodily adornment was found was clearly ritualized.

Far less material evidence exists for exotic imports as personal adornment in the New Palace period (MM III, c. 1700 B.C.-LM IB, c. 1450 B.C.), as jewelry is most usually found in tombs, and few of the extant Minoan tombs date to this period.[33] Examples do exist, however, at sites such as Knossos and its nearby port at Poros. Interestingly, in the Sanoudakis' plot at Poros, a workshop containing more than fifty unfinished sealstones and beads made of a variety of materials including imports of agate, red jasper, sard, carnelian, and amethyst was discovered.[34] Ample pictorial evidence for the New Palace period also exists and will be discussed shortly.

Beginning in Late Minoan (LM) II (c. 1450 B.C. – c. 1400 B.C.), Minoan authority on Crete gave way to Mycenaean domination, as evidenced by the replacement of Linear A by Linear B in administrative documents, as well as the infiltration of Mycenaean architectural style and artistic design. However, even with this change in authority, adornment with exotic objects and materials continued to play an important role in the assertion of social power and prestige. Two well preserved burials from the cemetery at Archanes, Phourni illustrate this widespread phenomenon. The first example comes from Tholos Tomb A, which contained an undisturbed burial in its side-chamber dating to LM III A1 (first half of the fourteenth century B.C.).[35] Like Mycenaean tholoi on the mainland, the tomb includes a dromos leading to the entrance. The main chamber of the tholos was thoroughly robbed, with the exception of a dismembered skeleton of a horse, suggesting that animal sacrifice was made in honor of the dead or, perhaps, to appease the gods. When stones were removed from the tholos in order to access the side chamber of the tomb, the skull

[32] Yannis A. Sakellarakis and Efi Sapouna-Sakellaraki, *Archanes* (Athens: Ekdotike Athenon S.A., 1991), 146, 151.

[33] For an overview of Neopalatial tombs, see Paul Rehak and John G. Younger, "Review of Aegean Prehistory VII: Neopalatial, Final Palatial, and Postpalatial," in *Aegean Prehistory: A Review*, ed. Tracey Cullen (Boston: Archaeological Institute of America, 2001), 402.

[34] Nota Dimopoulou, "Workshops and Craftsmen in the Harbour-Town of Knossos at Poros-Katsambas," in *TEXNH: Craftsmen, Craftswomen and Craftsmanship in the Aegean Bronze Age*, ed. Robert Laffineur and Philip P. Betancourt (Liège, 1997), 436-37.

[35] For Tholos Tomb A at Archanes, see Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki, *Archanes: Minoan Crete in a New Light*, vol. 1, 158-68; *Archanes*, 72-85.

of a bull was also found.[36] In the side chamber, the excavators discovered a single burial in a large clay larnax. Although the skeleton within the larnax was found in poor condition, enough remained to establish that the individual was in a contracted position with its head to the west at the time of burial.[37] As a result of careful excavation, the positioning of the personal adornment worn by the deceased woman(?) could be reconstructed.[38] It appears that the deceased wore a garment decorated with gold ornaments in the form of rosettes, which were found in a line going down the middle of the sarcophagus, and palmette-shaped papyri, found in a row along the eastern side of the sarcophagus at the feet of the deceased.[39] Based on the placement of these ornaments, it has been suggested that the woman wore a long priest's garment or ritual gown with gold ornament, not unlike those depicted in Aegean frescoes.[40] Most of the remaining finds in the larnax were located in the area of the chest of the deceased. These included numerous types of beads made of gold, rock crystal, sard, steatite, faience, and glass paste, which were combined into necklaces and, perhaps, bracelets, armlets, or hair ornaments. Three gold signet-rings, a gold clasp, a gold ring, and two gold caskets (small boxes with granulation work), were also found. Also in the larnax, although not near the chest of the individual, were two iron beads, a poorly preserved bronze lentoid sealstone, a sard sealstone, a faience pin, fragments of a faience vase, and two steatite whorls. The rest of the burial goods were located outside of the larnax and included bronze vases, a mirror with an ivory handle depicting a cow suckling her calf, clay vases, glass paste beads, gold beads, two gold finger-rings, and the remains of an elaborate footstool with ivory decoration.

According to Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki, the woman interred in the side chamber of Tholos Tomb A at Archanes is clearly of royal lineage. They base this assessment on her gold ornamented garment,

[36] This evidence of bull sacrifice calls to mind the bull sacrifice depicted on the side of the Agia Triada sarcophagus discussed below.
[37] Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki, *Archanes: Minoan Crete in a New Light*, vol. 1, 166.
[38] Although the skeletal remains were too badly damaged to determine the sex of the individual buried here, the excavators have argued (*Archanes*, 84) that it is a woman based on the objects that accompanied her. While care must be taken when making such assumptions, the burial of a woman with very similar objects in Tholos Tomb D suggests that the excavators are correct.
[39] Sakellarakis and Sapouna Sakellaraki, *Archanes: Minoan Crete in a New Light*, vol. 2, 616.
[40] Ibid., vol. 1, 78.

the wealth of grave goods including a substantial amount of jewelry, and the special placement of the burial in the side chamber of the tomb, which is generally reserved for royalty in the Mycenaean world. The excavators also contend that the woman maintained a priestly office based on the cult scene on one of the rings,[41] the presence of figure eight and sacred knot motifs on other finds, and the remains of a bull and horse sacrifice.[42]

Tholos Tomb D at Archanes also included a very important burial for the purposes of this study. The primary burial level of this tomb contained an undisturbed LM IIIA2 female burial accompanied by rich grave goods, several of which were found on or near the skeletal remains.[43] The deceased was apparently placed on a wooden bier and she held a bronze mirror in her left hand, very close to her face. She wore a gold diadem, which was found in situ on the skull, and on her chest were necklaces made of gold, glass paste, sard, faience, and amber. She also wore two gold hair-spirals and two pins made of glass paste used to fasten her garment at the shoulder. A shawl or veil with gold ornaments sewn to it presumably covered her head and shoulders, as several of these ornaments were found around the upper portion of the woman's remains. A silver ring and a jasper seal were also found near the skeleton. Other grave goods that accompanied the deceased further attest to her high status, including two other necklaces, a bronze knife, pieces of ivory (perhaps remains of the knife handle), and a large, decorated, terracotta pyxis, which held some of the offerings.

Of the materials used for the jewelry, clothing, and hair ornaments found in these two burials, gold, sard, amber, jasper, and silver had to be imported from beyond Crete, however, silver was likely imported from within the Aegean.[44] Glass paste, although made locally in Crete, was intended to resemble lapis lazuli,[45] which was available via the Near East from its original source in Afghanistan. Faience objects, objects worked with granulation such as beads and pendants or amulets, and beads worked with filigree, were also found in these two burials. By this time the techniques for producing faience, granulation, and filigree were known on Crete. Yet the value of objects worked in these established prestige technologies should not be diminished, as they may have formed part of an elite visual and symbolic vocabulary referencing a distant and older or

[41] Ibid., vol. 2, 654-60.
[42] Archanes, 85.
[43] *Archanes: Minoan Crete in a New Light*, vol. 1, 185-86. Although the roof of the tomb had collapsed, the burial remains were still largely intact.
[44] Ibid., vol. 2, 611-15.
[45] Ibid., 615.

more established tradition.[46] Again, whether these imports were worn by the deceased in this way during life is impossible to know for certain. However, the ring with a cult scene from Tholos Tomb A was an heirloom from an earlier period,[47] so it was certainly not made explicitly for this burial and may have been a personal possession of the deceased.

B. The Mainland

The importation and personal adornment of exotic imports and power symbols extends to the Mycenaean mainland as well, though imports from distant lands were rare on the mainland until their appearance in the Shaft Graves at Mycenae in the Late Middle Helladic and Early Late Helladic periods.[48] The Late Helladic (LH) I Shaft Graves predate the construction of the LH III Mycenaean palace and are located in two different grave circles, Grave Circle A (ca. 1600-1500 B.C.) and Grave Circle B (ca. 1650-1550 B.C.). Although Grave Circle A existed before the city walls, it was brought inside the fortifications when they were expanded in the LH IIIB period (ca. 1250 B.C.).[49] The Lion Gate was also added at this time just north of Grave Circle A. Grave Circle B is located outside the fortification walls, approximately 117 meters from the Lion Gate and 10 meters from the so-called Tomb of Clytemnestra.[50]

Exotic imports from lands as distant as Egypt, Mesopotamia, and the Baltic were found in the shaft graves at Mycenae and included objects of bodily adornment, as well as other classes of imports such as ostrich egg rhyta, faience jars and jugs, and a silver stag rhyton.[51] Regarding imports

[46] For faience in the Bronze Age Aegean and beyond, see Foster; for the prestige technology of granulation, see Politis, 161-94, especially 183.

[47] Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki, *Archanes: Minoan Crete in a New Light*, vol. 2, 609.

[48] Bryan E. Burns, "Import Consumption in the Bronze Age Argolid (Greece): Effects of Mediterranean Trade on Mycenaean Society," (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1999), 68, 248-306. Also see Eric H. Cline, *Sailing the Wine-Dark Sea: International Trade and the Late Bronze Age Aegean* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 1994; and Connie Lambrou-Phillipson, *Hellenorientalia: The Near Eastern Presence in the Bronze Age Aegean, ca. 3000-1100 B.C.* (Göteborg: Paul Åströms Förlag, 1990).

[49] For Grave Circle A, see Georg Karo, *Die Schachtgräber von Mykenai*, 2 vols. (Munich: F. Bruchmann, 1930/33), which includes a catalogue of finds.

[50] George E. Mylonas, *Ο Ταφικός Κύκλος Β των Μυκηνών* (Athens, 1973), 398-99.

[51] It should be noted that the original provenance of some objects identified as imports is contested. See, for example, Robert Laffineur, "Material and Craftsmanship in the Mycenae Shaft Graves," *Minos* 25-26 (1990-91): 255-88.

used to adorn the body, as in Crete, some arrived in Mycenae as finished products of bodily adornment, while others were locally crafted into objects of adornment in or near Mycenae. Those that arrived as finished products were all found in Grave Circle A and include glass spacer beads, perhaps from Nuzi in Mesopotamia,[52] gold diadems, arguably from Syro-Palestine,[53] and a gold pin from Anatolia.[54] Imported raw materials were found in great quantities in Grave Circle A and Grave Circle B and include amber, most of which is of Baltic origin,[55] ivory, carnelian, and amethyst, which were likely imported from the Near East or Egypt, and gold, perhaps from Transylvania.[56] These materials were crafted into a variety of ornaments for personal adornment including face masks, diadems, hair and clothing attachments, earrings—some in the form of hoops with granulation, beads—some of which are very elaborate, pendants, bracelets, finger rings, and pins.[57]

Imported finished products and raw materials used as personal adornment tended to cluster at Mycenae during this transitional period preceding the construction of the palace.[58] Based on the quantity and variety of imports found in the Shaft Graves, the relative lack of imports in the surrounding areas, and the likely visibility of these imports as adornment of the body either in funerary rituals or during the lifetimes of their owners, it is reasonable to conclude that exotic imports were used in the negotiation of power at Mycenae by the emergent elite. The elite context of these imports used as bodily adornment is also supported by the following evidence. First, shaft graves represent an elaboration of the more

[52] From Shaft Grave I. See Burns, 69, 248, cat. nos. 123-26; Cline, cat. nos. 43-46; Lambrou-Phillipson, cat. no. 467; Karo, 69 no. 209b, pl. CL.

[53] From Shaft Grave III. The Syro-Palestinian identification of these diadems is suggested by M.-L. Erlenmeyer and Hans Erlenmeyer, "Kassitische Goldarbeiten aus dem Schachtgrab III in Mykene?" *Kadmos* 3 (1965): 177-78, figures 1-2, but disputed by others. See also Cline, 240 cat. nos. 967 and 968.

[54] From Shaft Grave IV. See Burns 248, cat. no. 131; Cline, cat. no. 88; Karo, 75, pl. XVIII.

[55] Anthony Harding and Helen Hughes-Brock, "Amber in the Mycenaean World," *Annual of the British School at Athens* 69 (1974): 170-72; Curt W. Beck, Gretchen C. Southard, and Audrey B. Adams, "Analysis and Provenience of Minoan and Mycenaean Amber, IV. Mycenae," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 13 (1972): 384-85.

[56] Ellen N. Davis, "The Gold of the Shaft Graves: The Transylvania Connection" *Temple University Aegean Symposium* 8 (1983): 33-35.

[57] See, for example, Higgins, 61-71.

[58] For example, only 9 of the 1560 pieces of amber from the LH I mainland come from sites other than Mycenae. Harding and Hughes-Brock, 148, Table I.

common cist graves in use at Mycenae from the Middle to Late Helladic periods.[59] Second, the shaft grave burials are unique in that they incorporate grave markers decorated with the first large-scale relief sculpture of mainland Greece, some of which illustrate hunting, warfare, or funerary games, presumably associated with the elite. Finally, the fact that Grave Circle A was brought inside the walls of Mycenae and preserved during their expansion in LH IIIB, as well as its close proximity to the newly erected Lion Gate, demonstrates the strong desire of subsequent generations to protect and display these burials, implying the importance of the people buried here. Indeed, Wright argues that the refurbishment of Grave Circle A in conjunction with other building projects at this time, including the construction of the Lion Gate and the later tholos tombs, reinforced "the relation between the power of the dead and the living rulers," and should be seen as a display of lineage and authority on the part of the ruling elite of Mycenae.[60] Thus, it appears that while exotic imports as personal adornment were used to create and negotiate an elite identity in LH I, the monumentalization of Grave Circle A in LH III, which could be seen as site adornment, helped the Mycenaeans maintain this elite association in a more visibly accessible way in LH III.

In sum, this contextual analysis of the material evidence for exotica as bodily adornment in the Minoan and Mycenaean worlds provides information regarding the kinds of imported materials and ornaments in use in the Aegean Bronze Age, and their discovery in what are arguably elite funerary contexts. We now turn to the pictorial evidence in order to gain a greater understanding of the social contexts in which exotica were used as personal adornment during life.

Pictorial Evidence

Pictorial representations provide evidence for the use and display of exotica as bodily adornment during the lifetimes of their owners. Images are significant because they provide insight into the fleeting performances

[59] Mylonas, 403.

[60] James C. Wright, "Death and Power at Mycenae: Changing Symbols in Mortuary Practice," in *Thanatos: Les Coutumes Funeraires en Egée a L'Age du Bronze, Actes du colloque de Liège (21-23 avril 1986)*, ed. Robert Laffineur (Liège: Université de l'Etat à Liège Histoire de l'art et archéologie de la Grèce antique, 1987), 177-84.

of "embodied practices."[61] The perpetuation of fleeting performances through permanent representations in the form of wall paintings likely functioned as reminders of the social complexes negotiated through the performances themselves.[62] Notably, the paintings come from ritual and/or palatial contexts. This study will focus on examples found in Crete at the Palace of Knossos and Agia Triada, on Thera at Akrotiri, and on the mainland at Mycenae.

A. Crete

Human figures first appear in frescoes in Crete during the New Palace period and are prevalent at Knossos. Early examples from Knossos include the "Ladies in Blue" fresco, which dates to approximately MM IIIA-B (Fig. 1-1). Although found in a fragmentary state and heavily restored by Evans' artist and restorer Gilliéron, it appears that at least three life-size frontal seated women are represented in the fragments, each wearing an open bodice garment with exposed breasts, typical of Minoan female elite dress. Although their faces are not preserved, of particular interest for this essay is the jewelry that adorns their necks, wrists, and tresses. The jewelry includes a variety of bead types, some in the form of lilies or other flowers.[63] The beads are blue, which may represent silver or faience, or red, perhaps representing carnelian or sard. As noted earlier, although the earliest examples of faience found in Crete were likely imported from the Near East or Egypt, it was ultimately produced on Crete. However, the technology for making faience probably continued to be a prestige technology. Carnelian and sard were unavailable on Crete and, therefore, must have been imported. The fresco fragments that make up the "Ladies in Blue" were found in a deposit outside the North wall of the "Royal

[61] Connerton 1989, 72-104. See also Rosemary A. Joyce, *Gender and Power in Prehispanic Mesoamerica* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000), 9.

[62] See German, 9, who suggests that images of bull leaping and dancing in Crete functioned "as identifiers of palatial authority through their indexical relationship to larger representations and performances of social drama found at the palaces."

[63] Nannó Marinatos suggests that these flowers are symbolic of fertility or regeneration, *Minoan Religion: Ritual, Image, and Symbol* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1993), 141. See also Marinatos, 152, regarding the potential association between lilies and a goddess.

Magazines" at Knossos. According to Evans, they probably decorated part of the great East Hall of the Palace.[64]

Fig. 1-1. "Ladies in Blue," Knossos. Drawing by Gilliéron, Evans, 1964, fig. 397. Courtesy the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

Later frescoes from the palace of Knossos depicting ritual or high status activities also include human figures whose bodies are heavily adorned with jewelry. Some of this jewelry likely portrays works made of exotic raw materials, especially gold and, perhaps, carnelian or sard. One important example is the series of wall paintings known as the "Taureador" or "Bull Leaping" frescoes.[65] The fragments of these frescoes were found in the Court of the Stone Spout in the east wing of the palace where, according to Evans, they had fallen into a later context.[66] There are

[64] *PM* I = Arthur J. Evans, *The Palace of Minos at Knossos,* 4 vols. with index by Joan Evans, 1964 reprint of the original text (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd., 1921-1936), 546-47.

[65] Sara Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting in the Bronze Age* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990), 90-92, 175 (Kn No. 23).

[66] Evans dated these frescoes to LM II, immediately before the last palace (*PM* III, 210, n. 3). Immerwahr settles on a date of LM II/IIIA (Immerwahr, 92, 175 with references).

remains of at least three panels of bull leapers.[67] Some of the leapers wear diadems and are adorned with necklaces, bracelets, and armlets, a few of which are beaded.[68] There are also several examples from Knossos of figures wearing wrist and arm bracelets, such as the "Cup-Bearer" who wears a blue armlet, which probably represents silver, and the figure in front of him who wears one of gold. The "Cup-Bearer" also wears what appears to be a lentoid seal of imported agate on his left wrist, providing additional evidence that seals were worn during life.[69] The "Cup-Bearer" formed part of the Procession fresco, which was found in the Corridor of the Procession in the palace of Knossos. Immerwahr assigns this fresco to LM II/IIIA, although the date is uncertain.[70] The procession, which began at the West Porch, included male offering-bearers and female figures who processed along the corridor that ran to the South Propylaeum, where the "Cup-Bearer" was discovered.[71]

Gold diadems such as those found in Minoan and Mycenaean tombs are also depicted on the famous painted sarcophagus of Agia Triada, which dates to the LM IIIA2 period, the Final Palatial period on Crete (Figs.1-2a and 1-2b). The sarcophagus was found in a small enclosure known as tomb 4 during excavations at the site of the royal villa of Agia

[67] There is some controversy regarding the sex of the bull leapers, primarily because of the use of reddish/brown for the skin of some and white for the skin of others. This is generally considered a common convention in Aegean painting for representing men and women respectively. However, according to Marinatos (1993, 219), the figures depicted in white in the taureador frescoes have broad torsos with chest muscles and no breasts and they wear male codpieces with phallus sheaths. Contra Marinatos' argument, see Immerwahr 1990, 90-92. For a recent discussion of the significance of gender at Knossos, see Benjamin Alberti, "Gender and the Figurative Art of Late Bronze Age Knossos," in *Labyrinth Revisited: Rethinking 'Minoan' Archaeology*, ed. Yannis Hamilakis (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2002), 98-117.

[68] Notably, the "Keftiu" or Cretans depicted with tribute in the Theban tombs in Egypt also wear diadems, some with decorative extensions. See, for example, Cretans bearing tribute in the tomb of Rechmire, Thebes, illustrated in *PM* III, fig. 473. See also Shelley Wachsmann, *Aegeans in the Theban Tombs* (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 1987); and Diamantis Panagiotopoulos, "Keftiu in Context: Theban Tomb-Paintings as a Historical Source," *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 20 (2001): 263-83.

[69] Immerwahr, 88. For the source of agate, see Rehak and Younger, 403 and n. 102 with references.

[70] Immerwahr, 174-75.

[71] Ibid., 88.

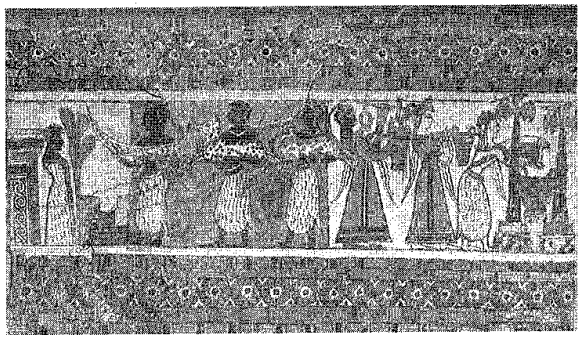

Fig. 1-2a. Agia Triada Sarcophagus (detail). Alison Frantz Photographic Collection, American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

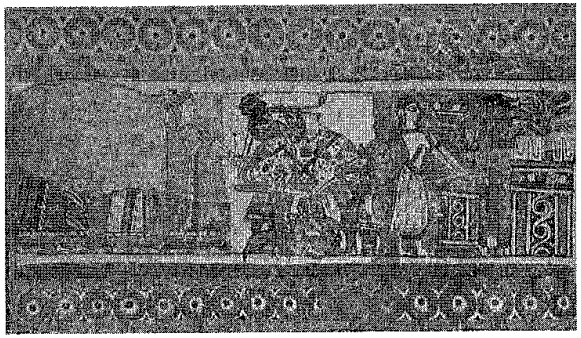

Fig. 1-2b. Agia Triada Sarcophagus (detail). Alison Frantz Photographic Collection, American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

Triada located in the south of the island near the palace of Phaistos.[72] It is made of limestone and is covered with stucco and then painted in the

[72] For the Agia Triada Sarcophagus see Roberto Paribeni, "Il sarcofago dipinto di Haghia Triada," *Monumenti Antichi* 14 (1908): 5-87; "Ricerche nel sepolcreto di Haghia Triada presso Phaestos," *Monumenti Antichi* 14 (1904): 713-19; Charlotte R. Long, *The Ayia Triadha Sarcophagus: A Study of Late Minoan and Mycenaean*

fresco technique. Because of the excellent state of preservation of the scenes painted on all four sides of the sarcophagus, it provides important information regarding religion and funerary rites at this time on Crete.

The four sides of the sarcophagus appear to be related iconographically. Notably, one of the long sides (Fig. 1-2a) depicts a funerary procession, with three men walking towards what appears to be the deceased man standing in front of a shrine or tomb. Each of the men carries an offering, including a model of a boat and perhaps two figurines of spotted bovines. Processing in the opposite direction on the same panel are three other figures. One is a female, perhaps a priestess, pouring a libation into a vessel suspended between two double-axe stands with birds on top. A second woman behind this figure wears a gold diadem or headpiece with ornamental attachments radiating from the top and carries two buckets, which presumably will be used to pour libations. A third (male?) figure behind her plays a lyre. On the opposite long side (Fig. 1-2b), a bull sacrifice is shown in the center. The bull is trussed up on a table with its throat cut, the blood dripping into a pot set in the ground below. This occurs in the midst of a procession that includes women, one of whom wears a gold headpiece similar to that on the opposite side of the sarcophagus, and a male flute player moving toward an altar and a shrine topped with horns of consecration. In front of the altar is, perhaps, a priestess, dressed similarly to the woman pouring a libation mentioned above. In this case she is shown with her hands extended over a bowl on the altar. Nearby are a jug and basket of fruit, which likely represent offerings. A double axe stand is also present. Finally, the short sides of the sarcophagus depict two female figures riding in a griffin drawn chariot on one side and a wild goat drawn chariot on the other. Above the wild goat chariot is another register with human figures, but it is very poorly preserved.

That such funerary rites actually took place at Agia Triada is strongly suggested by the fact that bull figurines and boat models similar to those depicted on the sarcophagus were discovered close to the open area near the megaron of Agia Triada, as were stone double-axe bases.[73] Further, the

Funerary Practices and Beliefs (Göteborg: Åströms Förlag, 1974); Immerwahr, 100-02; Vincenzo La Rosa, "The Painted Sarcophagus: Determining the Chronology," in *The Wall Paintings of Thera: Proceedings of the First International Symposium*, ed. Susan Sherratt (Piraeus: Petros M. Nomikos/The Thera Foundation, 2000), 996-97; Brendan Burke, "Materialization of Mycenaean Ideology," *American Journal of Archaeology* 109, no. 3 (2005): 403-22.

[73] Anna Lucia D'Agata, "The Shrines on the Piazzale dei Sacelli at Ayia Triadha. The LM IIIC and SM Material: A Summary," in *La Crète Mycénienne: Actes de la*

Piazzale dei Sacelli at Agia Triada, which is located near the megaron and is contemporary with the Agia Triada sarcophagus, may have provided an ideal space for such rites. Thus, gold diadems with ornamental attachments were likely worn by certain female participants in funerary rituals at Agia Triada and, therefore, played a role in the social dramas that embodied contemporary ideology.[74]

B. Thera

Roughly contemporary with the earliest figural paintings at Knossos are the Minoan style paintings from the harbor town of Akrotiri on Thera from the Late Cycladic I period (c. 1600-1650 B.C.). Because of the destruction of the site by a massive volcanic eruption, the frescoes are in a much better state of preservation than those at Knossos, and some were found on the same walls of the rooms that they decorated well over three millennia ago. As a result, they provide striking evidence for the use and display of exotica as personal adornment in the Aegean Bronze Age. The well known frescoes in the Xeste 3 complex depict several females of different ages adorned with elaborate jewelry, some of which likely depicts exotic materials and prestige technologies, such as carnelian or sard, gold, faience, and granulation.

table ronde internationale organisée par l'École française d'Athènes, ed. Jan Driessen and Alexandre Farnoux (Athens: École française d'Athènes, 1997), 85-100; *Haghia Triada II. Statuine minoiche e post-minoiche dai vecchi scavi di Haghia Triada (Creta)* (Padua: Bottega D'Erasmo, 1999), 222 and no. 228, 618; Nicola Cucuzza, "Religion and Architecture: Early LM IIIA2 Buildings in the Southern Area of Haghia Triada," in *POTNIA: Deities and Religion in the Aegean Bronze Age*, ed. Robert Laffineur and Robin Hägg (Liège: Université de Liège, 2001), 172; For an illustration of an alabaster boat model from Agia Triada, see Federico Halbherr, Enrico Stefani, and Luisa Banti, "Haghia Triada nel periodo tardo-palaziale," *Annuario della Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni italiane in Oriente* 55, no. 39 (1977): 90, figure 56.

[74] In a recent contextual analysis of the sarcophagus, Brendan Burke, 403-22, argues that the iconographical program on the sarcophagus intentionally fuses Mycenaean and Minoan iconography, "creating a powerful continuity between a Minoan past and the Mycenaean present." The newly arrived Mycenaean elite in Crete are quoting earlier Minoan cult equipment such as kamares vessels, double axes, and horns of consecration, but the individuals shown in ritual action wear contemporary Mycenaean dress and drive chariots that are similar to examples in mainland art in order to convey the ideological complexities of the time.

The frescoes discussed here appear on two floors of Xeste 3.[75] First is the ground floor, where a lustral basin was located in the northernmost section of the room, separated from other spaces in the room by pier-and-

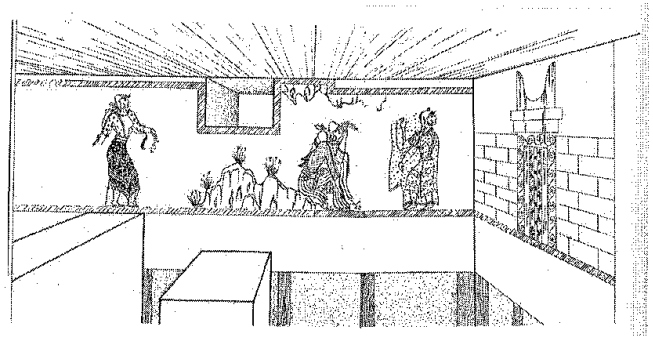

Fig. 1-3. Frescoes from Xeste 3, Akrotiri. Drawing courtesy Nannó Marinatos, Marinatos, 1993, fig. 214.

door partitions.[76] The frescoes in the space with the lustral basin include three girls on the north wall and a shrine with blood-dripping horns of consecration at its apex on the east wall (Fig. 1-3). According to Marinatos, the girls represent three distinct age groups. The youngest is shown on the far right with her head almost completely shaved save for a few long locks, and her breasts are not represented. She wears a transparent veil over her entire body as she walks away from, but looks back toward, the blood-covered shrine. The central figure, who is arguably at a later stage of development because of her fully-grown hair and her visible breast, is shown seated on a rocky outcropping holding her bleeding foot with one hand and her head with another. The third figure to the far left of the composition is shown walking toward the girl seated in

[75] For the frescoes of Akrotiri, see Nannó Marinatos, *Art and Religion in Thera: Reconstructing a Bronze Age Society* (Athens: Mathioulakis, 1984); *Minoan Religion*, 202-12; Immerwahr 1990, chapter 4; and Christos Doumas, *The Wall-Paintings of Thera* (Athens: The Thera Foundation, 1992).

[76] Southwest of the space with the lustral basin is a compartment that included frescoes of four men, three of whom are youthful and naked, shown carrying offerings toward an older, seated, clothed man who appears to be pouring liquid from a large pitcher (Marinatos, *Minoan Religion*, 209-11).

the landscape. Seemingly the oldest of the figures, with full breasts and long hair, she holds out a necklace, which appears to be an offering for the injured woman or, perhaps, the goddess on the upper floor.[77] The figures all wear typical Minoan dress, and they are heavily adorned with jewelry.[78] All three wear gold earrings of large hoops, and the female adorant shown bringing an offering of a necklace toward the woman seated in the landscape wears what appears to be a necklace made of crossed gold strips alternating with red beads, perhaps representing carnelian or sard. She also has a string of flowers draped across her shoulders, which may represent actual flowers, but could indicate gold flowers, and a blue bracelet and necklace with small beads attached to the ends. The bead-work on the necklace and bracelet could represent the prestige technology of granulation.

Fig. 1-4. Goddess from Xeste 3, Akrotiri. Courtesy Christos Doumas, Doumas 1992, pl. 125.

On the upper floor of Xeste 3, directly above the frescoes already discussed, is another fresco program. On the north and east walls are a

[77] Marinatos, *Minoan Religion*, 205-09. See also Ellen N. Davis, "Youth and Age in the Theran Frescoes," *American Journal of Archaeology* 90, no. 4 (1986): 399-406; and Anne P. Chapin, "Maidenhood and Marriage: The Reproductive Lives of the Girls and Women from Xeste 3, Thera," *Aegean Archaeology* 4 (1997-2000): 7-25.

[78] For the jewelry from Akrotiri, see Christina Televantou, "Κοσμήματα από την προϊστορική Θήρα," *Archaiologike Ephemeris* (1984): 14-54. Televantou sees the jewelry from Akrotiri as influenced by traditional Cycladic craftsmanship, but with strong Minoan influence. She also notes, however, that some elements are typically Theran.

group of girls collecting crocuses, presumably for the goddess figure shown seated on a tripartite platform or throne with a blue monkey offering crocuses before her and a griffin shown in a heraldic position behind her (Fig. 1-4). The goddess wears an open bodice costume, which is decorated with crocuses, as is her face.[79] She is heavily adorned with jewelry, including a large gold, hoop earring, perhaps worked in granulation, a red beaded hair ornament, and necklaces, some of which incorporate dragonfly and bird pendants in a variety of colors.[80] A similar bird pendant of chalcedony was found in Tomb IV/V/VI at Mochlos, and examples in local stones were discovered at Archanes.[81] The crocus gatherers are also adorned with jewelry, such as one from the north wall who wears a string of red (carnelian or sard?) spherical beads around her neck, and a gold band or diadem around her head with red spherical beads attached to it. Another crocus gatherer from the east wall wears three necklaces – one of gold with red spherical beads, one of thin blue (faience?) disk beads, and another of gold, which may be worked in granulation.

Marinatos has suggested that the fresco programs on both floors of Xeste 3 are related. The different ages of the girls depicted, the presence of a shrine dripping blood, the seated girl with a wounded, bleeding foot, and the centrality of crocuses, which were likely used for their medicinal value in alleviating menstrual cramps, all suggest that the goddess is here associated with a rite of passage ceremony for young women entering their child-birthing years.[82] The interpretation of these frescoes as depicting an important ritual is confirmed by their architectural context, as Xeste 3 is an important and sizable public building that incorporates many sophisticated architectural features common in elite contexts in Crete, such as ashlar masonry, pier and door partitions, and a lustral basin.[83] Although we cannot be certain who would have been present at such a ritual, if the ritual did indeed take place, or even who would have seen this wall painting, the personal adornment of the figures in the wall paintings of Xeste 3 certainly speaks to their elevated status, with the goddess figure playing the most prominent role. Thus, the painting might have functioned as a reminder of

[79] For the dress of the goddess from Xeste 3, see Marinatos, *Minoan Religion*, 141. For crocuses in Aegean costume, see Rehak, 85-100.

[80] Doumas, 130-31, and figs. 122, 125, 126; Politis, 173 fig. 9.9A, 177.

[81] Seager, 48, IV.7, fig. 20; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki, *Archanes: Minoan Crete in a New Light*, vol. 2, 635, figs. 690-91.

[82] Marinatos, *Minoan Religion*, 205-11; Immerwahr, 61-62.

[83] Clairy Palyvou, *Akrotiri, Thera: An Architecture of Affluence 3,500 Years Old* (Philadelphia: INSTAP Academic Press), 2005.

important communal events or performances that reinforced social boundaries of age, gender, and political or religious status and marked important life transitions.[84]

C. The Mainland

Fresco painting on the Mycenaean mainland dates back to at least the mid-thirteenth century, and perhaps as early as the fourteenth century at Thebes and Mycenae.[85] The earliest preserved Mycenaean frescoes have much in common with the later period frescoes from Knossos and Agia Triada, as these later frescoes from Crete date to the time when Mycenaeans were the dominant force on the island. As the tradition of fresco and wall painting in the Aegean appears to be primarily palatial and often associated with religion, it is no surprise that several examples of Mycenaean frescoes were discovered in the Cult Center at Mycenae located on the south slope of the citadel. The Cult Center was built up next to the fortification wall in LH IIIB (c. 1250 B.C.), the same time as or perhaps shortly after the citadel walls were extended, Grave Circle A was brought inside the walls and preserved, and the monumental Lion Gate entrance was added to the citadel.[86]

Several fresco fragments of female figures in procession were discovered in the Southwest Building of the Cult Center at Mycenae.[87] The majority of the figures were standing, but two of the figures may have been seated. One of the seated figures, the "Mykenaia" or Mycenaean Lady, which dates to LH IIIB, is analyzed in detail here in order to show

[84] According to Joyce, "specific body practices were part of a repertoire of charged performances that marked transitions during the life course in prehispanic Central America." Joyce, "Archaeology of the Body," 146-47. See also Joyce, "Girling the girl and boying the boy: the production of adulthood in ancient Mesoamerica," *World Archaeology* 31 (2000a): 473-83.

[85] Immerwahr, 106.

[86] George E. Mylonas, *Ancient Mycenae: The Capital City of Agamemnon* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), 33-39, 114-21; *Mycenae and the Mycenaean Age* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966), 94-96; S.E. Spyros Iakovides, *Late Helladic Citadels on Mainland Greece* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1983), 27-30, 38-39. For an overview see Lyvia Morgan, "The Cult Centre at Mycenae and the duality of life and death," in *Aegean Wall Painting: A Tribute to Mark Cameron*, ed. Lyvia Morgan (London: British School at Athens, 2005), 159-62 with references.

[87] For the Cult Center at Mycenae, see A.D. Moore and William D. Taylour, *The Temple Complex: Well Built Mycenae: The Helleno-British Excavations within the Citadel at Mycenae, 1959-1969*. Fascicule 10 (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1999).

the important role of exotica as personal adornment in elite ritual contexts at Mycenae (Fig. 1-5). Preserved are the upper body and head of a life size woman against a blue background shown with her torso in frontal position and her head turned to the left in profile.[88] On her neck she wears what appears to be a beaded necklace, with beads of different shapes and sizes. The colors of the beads alternate between red and a yellowish color. The red likely represents carnelian or sard, and the yellow amber, all of which were imported from distant lands to Mycenae. Notably, amber colored beads are not represented in earlier Minoan frescoes, and indeed amber was apparently not a significant import to Crete until the Mycenaeans presumably took over the administration of the island. Similarly colored

Fig. 1-5. The Mycenaean Lady or "Goddess" ("Mykenaia") from the Cult Center, Mycenae. Drawing by Freya Evenson.

beads are also represented in the bracelets worn by the "Mykenaia" and, more importantly, in the necklace that she carries in her right hand, which

[88] Immerwahr, 119.

is almost identical to the necklace she wears. According to Kritseli-Providi, the "Mykenaia" is a goddess who received the necklace in her hand as an offering from a procession of women, fragments of which also exist. These fragments are shown in a variety of scales against a blue ground like that of the Mycenaean Lady.[89]

The notion that the necklace was a ritual offering of jewelry to the "Mykenaia" is supported by evidence from the Shrine of the Idols, also located in the Cult Center at Mycenae. Here, twenty-eight clay human figures were found, as well as clay snakes, remains of bowls, cups, and kylikes, offering tables, and numerous beads and ornaments. Some of the figures may represent cult officiants that perhaps held beaded jewelry as offerings.[90] In addition, small holes were found on the figures, especially around their necks and chests. Although they may have had practical use as firing holes, their often systematic placement suggests that they were used to secure beads to the figurines as bodily adornment.[91] This interpretation is further corroborated by a bowl of beads that was found near the figures themselves. The Cult Center was linked to the palace located at the top of the acropolis through a Processional Way. The beginning of this passage was roofed and included frescoes such as a chariot scene, not unlike those found in the palatial megaron, thus emphasizing the strong connection between the Cult Center and the palace.[92]

Conclusion

The archaeological context of exotic imports used as personal adornment suggests that they were considered prestige objects throughout most of the Aegean Bronze Age, as they tend to be grouped together, often in elite, ritual contexts such as wealthy burials or, in the case of Anemospilia at Archanes, a shrine. The association of exotic imports with

[89] Ioanna Kritseli-Providi, *Τοιχογραφίες του Θρησκευτικού Κέντρου των Μυκηνών* (Athens, 1982), B-1: 37-40, B 20-21, pls. Γ, 4-5 ("Mykenaia"); B22-3, 50-51, pls. Γ and 10 (processional figures associated with "Mykenaia"). See also Immerwahr, 1990, 119, 191 (My No. 3).

[90] A.D. Moore, "The large monochrome terracotta figures from Mycenae: the problem of interpretation," in *Problems in Greek Prehistory*, ed. Elizabeth B. French and Ken A. Wardle (Bristol: Bristol Classical Press, 1988), 221.

[91] Morgan, "The Cult Center at Mycenae," 165; William D. Taylour, "New Light on Mycenaean Religion," *Antiquity* 44 (1970): 270-79.

[92] For the chariot scene in the processional way, see Kritseli-Providi 1982, 90-I (Delta-I), pl. 27. See also Morgan, 162.

the elite is not unexpected, since not only did it require a high level of economic stability and organization to overcome obstacles in order to obtain imported objects and materials, but exotic imports are also often imbued with heightened ideological or symbolic value because of their origins beyond the local realm.[93] As a result, exotic imports can be used in the creation and continued negotiation of positions of power.[94]

Wall paintings showing how these imports might have been used and displayed on the body during life provide further evidence of the important role of imports in identity construction. The paintings themselves are consistently found in ritual or palatial contexts, and most often depict figures taking part in important ritual or communal activities that are closely associated with the palatial and or religious centers of Crete, Thera, and Mycenae. These activities include but are not limited to bull leaping and processions from the palace at Knossos, funerary rituals on the sarcophagus from Agia Triada, a rite of passage ceremony with a goddess playing a central role in a prominent public structure at Akrotiri, Thera, and processions associated with a goddess-like figure in the Cult Center of Mycenae. Some of these imports, especially beads or beaded jewelry, are even given as offerings to a goddess or, perhaps, other participants of ritual action. This appears to have been the case in Xeste 3 at Akrotiri and in the Cult Center at Mycenae. Beads were also used as votive offerings in the sanctuary of Phylakopi on the Cycladic island of Melos,[95] and further afield, in Mesopotamia, thousands of beads were found in the E-anna temple precinct in Uruk (c. 3300-2900 B.C.), which was dedicated to the goddess Inanna.[96] Indeed, if we follow the model of the Near East and Egypt—the origin of many imported raw materials to the Aegean—

[93] Mary W. Helms, *Ulysses' Sail: An Ethnographic Odyssey of Power, Knowledge, and Geographical Distance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988); *Craft and the Kingly Ideal: Art, Trade and Power* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993).

[94] Helms, *Ulysses' Sail*, 3-4; Elizabeth DeMarrais, Luis Jaime Castillo, and Timothy Earle, "Ideology, Materialization, and Power Strategies," *Current Anthropology* 37, no. 1 (1996): 15-31.

[95] Colin Renfrew, *The Archaeology of Cult: The Sanctuary at Phylakopi* (London, 1985), 317-22.

[96] Joan Aruz, ed. with Ronald Wellenfels, *Art of the First Cities: The Third Millennium B.C. from the Mediterranean to the Indus* (New York, New Haven and London: Metropolitan Museum of Art and Yale University Press, 2003), 18. This calls to mind a song describing Inanna's beautification in which the goddess tells how she adorned herself with precious jewelry, including "little stone beads" that she hung around her neck. Ibid.

specific stones and metals could have had symbolic significance in the Aegean Bronze Age based on their color or other properties.[97]

The fact that exotic imports were fashioned into bodily adornment gave them greater visibility and performativity, allowing them to function as emblems of social power. The rituals or performances in which these imports were worn were likely dynamic and powerful events intended to influence social memory and negotiate or maintain social identity and structures. The memorialization of these social dramas in wall paintings and other artistic media served as a perpetual reference to or reminder of the events after the actual performances were long over.

Finally, some of the exotic objects and materials used as personal adornment, such as gold diadems (often with ornamental attachments), gold flowers and leaves (perhaps used as hair ornaments or attached to diadems), hoop earrings (sometimes with granulation), and beaded jewelry of gold, faience, and semi-precious stones, were similar to high status objects among more established Eastern elites. The fact that these highly visible objects may have been associated with a well-established elite visual vocabulary might have had an impact on their meaning and value in Aegean society and allowed the Aegean elite entry into key social negotiations beyond the local realm.

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[97] For a brief overview of the symbolic significance of color in the Near East and Egypt, as well as a case for color symbolism in the Aegean, see Carole Gillis, "The Significance of Color for Metals in the Aegean Bronze Age," in *MELETEMATA: Studies in Aegean Archaeology Presented to Malcolm H. Wiener as He Enters His 65th Year*, ed. Philip P. Betancourt et al. (Liège and Austin: Université de Liège and The University of Texas at Austin, 1999), 289-98.

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CHAPTER TWO

THE LADY OF THE LANDSCAPE: AN INVESTIGATION OF AEGEAN COSTUMING AND THE XESTE 3 FRESCOES

ANNE P. CHAPIN

Despite more than a century of excavation and study of the Minoan, Cycladic, and Mycenaean cultures of the Bronze Age Aegean, surprisingly little is known of the costuming traditions of these prehistoric peoples. Leather and textile garments generally do not survive, and metal accessories and accoutrements (jewelry, pins, hair rings, etc.) offer only limited information on costume design and personal adornment. Prehistoric texts, moreover, remain either undeciphered or, as in the case of Mycenaean Linear B, are bureaucratic in nature and do not describe the design and manufacture of clothing. Yet the human form was selected for representation in many periods of Aegean prehistory, and some of these images, particularly those produced in the early part of the Late Bronze Age (c. 1650-1450 B.C.), preserve highly descriptive images of prehistoric costumes. Details of clothing, hairstyle, and jewelry portrayed in these artworks offer clues to the age, gender, social status, and even the religious and political associations of the clothed individuals. The information embedded in depictions of costuming is therefore indispensable for investigating constructions of identity on both the individual and group levels, and throws new light on the social structures and cultural priorities of the peoples of the prehistoric Aegean.

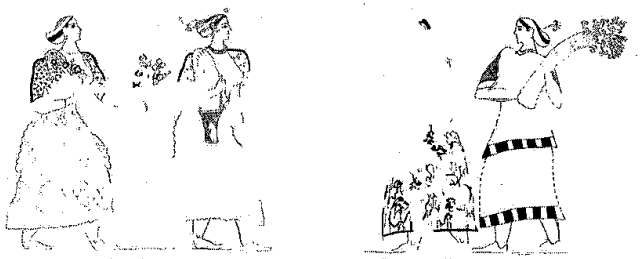

North Corridor Wall
Rose Bearer (#3)
Basket Bearer (#4)
"Heave Ho" from the South Corridor Wall
Lady of the Landscape (#2)
Lily Bearer (#1)

Fig. 2-1. The Xeste 3 Procession Fresco. Chapin, after Vlachopoulos 2003, figs. 22, 23.

One such descriptive art work is the "Lady of the Landscape," a processional figure from a recently restored fresco preserving an unusual garment decorated with a landscape of swallows and rocks (Fig. 2-1, no. 2).[1] Painted in the Late Cycladic (LC) I period (c. 1650-1600 B.C.) at Akrotiri, Thera, in the Cycladic Islands of Greece, the painting belongs to the broad cultural and artistic milieu of the Neopalatial Aegean led by the Minoan culture of Crete. At this time, women's fashions favored Minoan-style flounced skirts and back aprons worn with form-fitting bodices or chemises. The Lady of the Landscape and her companions, however, wear un-flounced garments of uncertain design, thus presenting important new evidence for Aegean costuming. The pictorial decoration of swallows and rocks that distinguishes the Lady's costume, moreover, is also highly unusual and rare. It has been suggested that pictorial garments might identify a special priestly or divine status, but this idea remains largely untested.[2] Fortunately, the excellent preservation of the frescoes from Akrotiri, Thera, makes it possible to investigate the social significance of

[1] Vlachopoulos, Andreas. "'Βίρα-μάινα': το χρονικό της συντήρησης μίας τοιχογραφίας από το Ακρωτήρι (1973-2003)," in A. Vlachopoulos and K. Birtacha (eds.), *Αργονάντες. Τιμητικός τόμος για τον καθηγητή Χρίστο Γ. Ντούμα*, with English summary. (Athens: Kathimerini, 2003), 505-526.

[2] *PM* III = Arthur J. Evans, *The Palace of Minos at Knossos*, 4 vols. with index by Joan Evans, 1964 reprint of the original text (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd., 1921-1936), 42; Elizabeth J.W. Barber, *Prehistoric Textiles: The Development of Cloth in the Neolithic and Bronze Ages with Special Reference to the Aegean* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 321.

Aegean pictorial costumes and to place the Lady of the Landscape and her unusual garment into a broader iconographic, cultural, and religious perspective.

After a brief introduction to the archaeological and iconographic contexts of the Lady of the Landscape, this study pursues two lines of investigation. First, the type of garment worn by the Lady of the Landscape is considered. Since an up-to-date, illustrated typology of Neopalatial Aegean costume design remains lacking in scholarship, one is presented here to provide a foundation for further discussion. Secondly, the iconography of pictorial costumes is explored. Parallels for the landscape decoration of the Lady's garment are identified from artistic contexts around the Neopalatial Aegean, and then the Lady of the Landscape is examined as part of the larger pictorial program to which she belongs. The results of this investigation suggest that the landscape costume communicates the Lady of the Landscape's privileged social status and her distinct identity among the members of the Akrotiri community, but, quite surprisingly, it does not identify her as a person of exceptionally high rank. Rather, the investigation into the extraordinary costume worn by the Lady of the Landscape leads to a new appreciation for the variety of form and subtlety of meaning underlying prehistoric Aegean costume design, and suggests that there remains much to be learned of prehistoric Aegean costuming traditions.

Archaeological and Artistic Contexts

The fresco with the Lady of the Landscape was excavated at Akrotiri, Thera, in 1973 from a large public building known today as Xeste 3 (Fig. 2-2).[3] This free-standing structure was originally three storeys tall and built of ashlar stone blocks reinforced by timber framing. With an estimated interior space of about 535 square meters, or nearly 6000 square feet, Xeste 3 was also provided with many architectural refinements indicative of prehistoric luxury, including paved stone floors, pier-and-door partitions and a lustral basin modeled after elite Minoan architecture. Together with its grand size, these embellishments characterize Xeste 3 as the most elaborate Aegean structure of its era known outside of Minoan Crete.[4] Its paintings, moreover, including the Lady of the Landscape,

[3] *Thera* VII = Spyridon Marinatos, *Excavations at Thera,* I-VII (Athens, 1968-1976), 22-28, 32-38.

[4] Clairy Palyvou, *Akrotiri, Thera: An Architecture of Affluence 3,500 Years Old* (Philadelphia: INSTAP Academic Press, 2005), 54-62. These features are so close

belong to an extensive figural fresco program executed by at least one prehistoric master and his/her workshop. Notable for their excellent quality and abundant naturalistic detail, the frescoes rank among the finest from the ancient world. What is more, whereas contemporary frescoes from Minoan Crete are usually found in highly fragmentary condition, the frescoes of Akrotiri—known as the "Pompeii of the Aegean"—were well preserved by a powerful volcanic eruption that buried the town under a thick layer of pumice and ash.[5] Xeste 3 and its many well-preserved figural frescoes thus present an exceptional opportunity to investigate artistic evidence for prehistoric costuming.

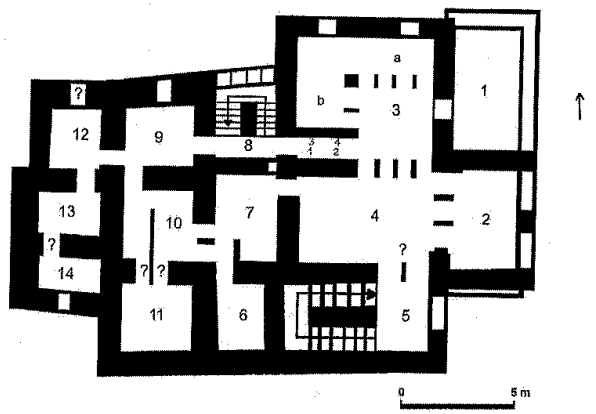


Fig. 2-2. Plan of Xeste 3. Chapin, after Palyvou 2005, fig. 62.

The general outline of the Xeste 3 fresco program is already well known, although details of interpretation are likely to change as

to Minoan villa architecture that Palyvou argues that Xeste 3 is an atypical Theran house.

[5] For an overview of the eruption, see Walter L. Friedrich, *Fire in the Sea: The Santorini Volcano: Natural History and the Legend of Atlantis*, trans. Alexander R. McBirney (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); for the results of the 2006 underwater survey of the Santorini volcano and the revised estimate that the Santorini eruption was twice as large as previously believed, see Haraldur Sigurdsson, et al., "Marine Investigations of Greece's Santorini Volcanic Field," *Eos* 87, 34 (2006): 337, 348.

compositions continue to be restored and published.[6] The topmost floor of the building's three levels was decorated with an extensive geometric composition of spirals[7] and a relief fresco of a rosette-embellished wall hanging.[8] Below, on the middle storey (the second floor, in American parlance) was the Saffron Gatherers Fresco, a painting of pubertal girls collecting crocus flowers in a rocky landscape (Fig. 2-3). In the adjacent Mistress of the Animals Fresco, the processed saffron is offered to an enthroned goddess attended by a blue monkey and a griffin. Beside this composition was a fresco of a marshy landscape with ducks and dragonflies, symbols of the goddess's realm.[9] Directly below the Mistress of the Animals Fresco, in the lustral basin of the ground floor (3a), was the Adorants Fresco. On the left, the Necklace Swinger carries a string of beads while the Wounded Woman in the center sits painfully on a crocus-covered rocky outcrop attending to a cut foot. To the right, the Veiled Girl, a youthful figure enveloped in a diaphanous cloak, turns her head as if to gaze at a horned shrine façade dripping with blood. An adjacent room (3b) displayed additional frescoes of two nude youths and a small boy in the company of an adult man, perhaps participating in a robing ceremony. Room 4 was painted with monkeys playing musical instruments and wielding swords in a rocky landscape of swallows and crocuses.[10] Nearby, the vestibule and stairs (5) of Xeste 3 were painted with male figures,

[6] Even before their formal publication, the bibliography of these frescoes is large. For excavation, see *Thera* VII; for an overview of the pictorial program and excellent color photographs, see Christos Doumas, *The Wall-Paintings of Thera* (Athens: The Thera Foundation, 1992), 127-31, pls. 93-137; for an important interpretation of the rituals depicted in the paintings, see Nannó Marinatos, *Art and Religion in Thera: Reconstructing a Bronze Age Society* (Athens: D. & I. Mathioulakis, 1984), 61-84.

[7] Constantin Papaodysseus, et al., "Distinct, Late Bronze Age (c. 1650 BC) Wall-Paintings from Akrotiri, Thera, Comprising Advanced Geometrical Patterns," *Archaeometry* 48.1 (2006): 97-114.

[8] *Thera* VII, 27; Doumas, *The Wall-Paintings of Thera*, 131.

[9] Andreas Vlachopoulos, "The Reed Motif in the Thera Wall Paintings and its Association with Aegean Pictorial Art," in *The Wall Paintings of Thera: Proceedings of the First International Symposium*, vol. 2, ed. Susan Sherratt (Athens: Petros M. Nomikos and the Thera Foundation, 2000), 631-56.

[10] Paul Rehak, "The Monkey Frieze from Xeste 3, Room 4: Reconstruction and Interpretation," in *MELETEMATA: Studies in Aegean Archaeology Presented to Malcolm H. Wiener as He Enters His 65th Year*, vol. 3, ed. Philip P. Betancourt, Vassos Karageorghis, Robert Laffineur, and Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier (Liège and Austin: Université de Liège and the University of Texas, 1999), 705-09.

reportedly hunters and athletes.[11] Though many interpretations of the fresco program are possible, the distinctive narrative details suggest that prehistoric mythological tales may have been merged with ritual performance.[12]

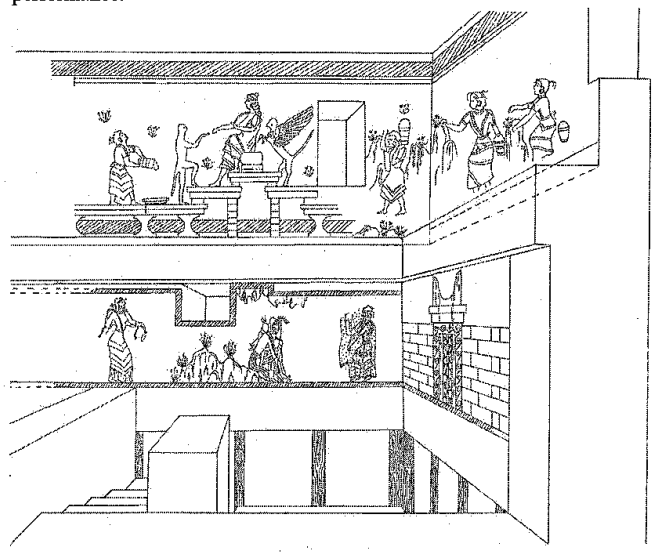


Fig. 2-3. Pictorial program of Room 3, Xeste 3. Chapin after Doumas 1980, 295.

Within this extensive iconographic program, the Lady of the Landscape belongs to a fresco of processional women (Fig. 2-1, right) that once adorned the south wall of an upper-floor corridor leading from

[11] *Thera* VI, 23; *Thera* VII, 23, 25; Andreas Vlachopoulos. "Motifs of Early Greek Poetry and the Wall Paintings of Xeste 3, Akrotiri," in *EPOS: Reconsidering Greek Epic and Aegean Bronze Age Archaeology. Proceedings of the 11th International Aegean Conference, Los Angeles, UCLA-The J. Paul Getty Villa, 20-23 April 2006* (*Aegaeum* 28), S. P. Morris and R. Laffineur (eds.), Liège and Austin: Université de Liège and University of Texas at Austin, 2007.

[12] In Christos Boulotis, "Aspects of Religious Expression at Akrotiri," *ΑΑΣ*3 (2005): 38, Boulotis observes "the visible possibility that [the fresco program] presents an image of the mythical-cultic nucleus of the ritual performance by annealing myth and reality."

Service Staircase 8 into Room 3. Known among the excavation staff by the unusual sobriquet, "Heave Ho," the painting suffered an unfortunate accident when the recovery efforts went awry and pieces of plaster became detached from their gauze backing, resulting in additional damage to the fresco. The story of the accident and the subsequent process of the fresco's restoration are recounted by Andreas Vlachopoulos in an article that also presents a color drawing of the restored composition.[13] Together with a companion composition of two similar figures situated on the facing wall (Fig. 2-1, left) and reports of a poorly preserved fifth figure, the corridor was painted with a procession of women who shared the architectural space with prehistoric viewers as they walked through the building.[14]

Indeed, the Procession Fresco of Xeste 3 offers important new evidence for the development of the processional theme in Aegean art. Comparable compositions from Minoan Crete are few in number and so fragmentary that they do not demonstrate that this subject, notably prominent in later Late Helladic (LH) III A-B Mycenaean iconography, actually originated in the Neopalatial period. The Corridor of the Procession at the Knossos palace, for example, was decorated in the Middle Minoan (MM) IIIB period with a fresco of large-scale women, but only tiny pieces of jewelry and dress designs survive.[15] Its famous replacement, the mixed-sex Cupbearer and Procession Fresco, is usually dated to the Late Minoan (LM) II-IIIA1 period, after the collapse of Minoan power in LM IB.[16] An unusual monochrome fresco of a (walking?) female figure costumed in a flounced skirt, girdle, and veil, excavated from the palatial building at Archanes anticipates later processional figures, but this composition seems to depict a procession of one.[17] Finally, the LM I miniature fresco from Tylissos may preserve a procession of six female figures dressed in flounced skirts, but the reconstruction of this composition remains tentative.[18] The Xeste 3 Procession Fresco, then, is important for demonstrating that female

[13] Vlachopoulos, "Βίρα-μάινα" 522, fig. 22.
[14] Doumas, *The Wall-Paintings of Thera*, pls. 131-34; Vlachopoulos, "Βίρα-μάινα". On the belt of the fifth figure, see Maria C. Shaw, "A Minoan Fresco from Katsamba," *American Journal of Archaeology* 82 (1978): 32.
[15] Sara Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting in the Bronze Age* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990), 59, 172 (Kn No. 13).
[16] Ibid., 88-90, 174-75 (Kn No. 22), pls. 38-40.
[17] Yannis Sakellarakis and Efi Sapouna-Sakellaraki, *Archanes: Minoan Crete in a New Light*, vol. 2. (Athens: Ammos Publications, 1997), 494-96, fig. 478.
[18] Maria C. Shaw, "The Miniature Frescoes of Tylissos Reconsidered," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 2 (1972): 171-88; Immerwahr, 66-67, 184 (Ty No. 1).

procession frescoes first appeared in Neopalatial art and that the theme was later taken over by Mycenaean artists.

Each of the figures in the Xeste 3 procession, moreover, is distinguished by individualized details of costuming. Two of the women, dubbed here the "Basket Bearer" and the "Rose Bearer," are already known from photographs published by Christos Doumas, but recent restoration work incorporates additional fragments that enlarge the composition and offer additional information about costuming.[19] The Basket Bearer is dressed in a fleecy red mantle worn over a pale yellow short-sleeved bodice decorated with crocus stamens and murex purple bands.[20] She carries a basket similar to those held by the nearby Saffron Gatherers, wears a heavy necklace, and binds her hair in a snood – a pouch for restraining long hair that is held in place by a ribbon over the forehead. Crocus blossoms further ornament her hair. Beside her, the Rose Bearer wears a similarly fleecy mantle, colored yellow rather than red, over a pale yellow short-sleeved bodice decorated with red lily flowers and murex purple bands. A beaded necklace graces her neck, her hair is bound in a snood, and she carries large posies of wild roses or rockroses (cistus) in her hands.[21] Typical of Aegean costuming traditions, both women's bodices are worn open at the breast, thereby showing details of breast development. The large, heavy size of the Basket and Rose Bearers's breasts, when viewed in comparison with the significantly smaller breasts of the pubertal Saffron Gatherers and the teenage Adorants of Xeste 3, characterizes these figures as mature women who have probably born children.[22]

The two women of "Heave Ho"—the Lady of the Landscape and the "Lily Bearer"—are likewise identified by costuming attributes. The Lily Bearer is the better preserved of the two and carries a large bouquet of white Madonna lilies in her arms. She is dressed in a white flounced mantle worn over a murex purple short-sleeved bodice decorated with a

[19] Doumas, *The Wall-Paintings of Thera*, pls. 131-34; Vlachopoulos, "Βίρα-μάινα" fig. 23.
[20] Murex purple, a rare and precious pigment extracted from murex mollusks, became famous in classical antiquity as a costly dye for cloth and clothing associated with luxury and prestige. On its use in the Theran frescoes, see E. Chrysikopoulou, "Use of Murex Purple in the Wall-Paintings at Akrotiri, Thera," *ΑΑΣ* 3 (2005): 77-80.
[21] On the identification of the flowers, see *Thera* VII, 36-37.
[22] Anne Chapin, "Maidenhood and Marriage: The Reproductive Lives of the Girls and Women from Xeste 3, Thera," *Aegean Archaeology* 4 (1997-2000 [2002]): 7-25.

net pattern; on one sleeve are two blue birds, perhaps rock doves. She also has a white lily in her bound hair and a gold beaded necklace about her neck. In front of her is the Lady of the Landscape, the most fragmentary of the four processional women. Little of the upper body is preserved, but a fragment of her head shows that, like the others, her hair is bound in a snood, and a piece of her left arm demonstrates that she too wore a murex-purple sleeved bodice. Although any objects she may have carried in her hands do not survive, she is set apart from the others by her unusual garment decorated with its brightly painted rocky landscape and darting swallows.

Fig. 2-4. Detail of landscape costume. Chapin, after Vlachopoulos 2003, fig. 22, with some restoration of the swallows.

Surviving fragments depict lively costume decoration of undulating rockwork painted blue, red, yellow ochre, white, and green, all of which is outlined and lightly veined in black (Fig. 2-4). This type of rockwork is characteristic of Aegean landscape painting and finds many parallels in

Neopalatial art.[23] The swallows decorating the costume are also distinctive. The birds' bodies, wings, and tails are defined calligraphically by undulating black lines of varied thickness, and their heads are highlighted with a spot of red, which in combination with their deeply forked tails, indicates that the artist was specifically representing barn swallows (*Hirundo rustica*).[24] The birds are deftly rendered in foreshortened views to suggest their quick turns in flight. These stylistic features are well known from other frescoed swallows at Akrotiri, including the swallows of the famous Spring Fresco from Building Delta at Akrotiri.[25] It is possible, though difficult to prove, that these swallows were all painted by the same master or his/her workshop.[26]

While landscape painting is a fixture of Aegean art, the appearance of a landscape design on a *costume* remains exceedingly rare. Moreover, the type of garment decorated with the landscape remains uncertain, a problem made more difficult because an up-to-date, illustrated typology of Aegean costume design is not available for comparison and because considerable confusion surrounds the identification of the various forms of dress in Aegean art.[27] A typology of women's Neopalatial costume is

[23] See, for example, the LC I Monkeys Fresco from Building Beta at Akrotiri (Doumas, *The Wall-Paintings of Thera*, pls. 85-90) and the LM IA Monkeys and Birds Fresco from the House of the Frescoes at Knossos (Immerwahr, 42-46, 170 [Kn No. 2], fig. 16).

[24] On the identification of Hirundo rustica in Theran art, see Kenneth J. Harte, "Birds of the Thera Wall Paintings," in *The Wall Paintings of Thera: Proceedings of the First International Symposium*, vol. 2, ed. S. Sherratt (Athens: Petros M. Nomikos and the Thera Foundation, 2000), 690-92.

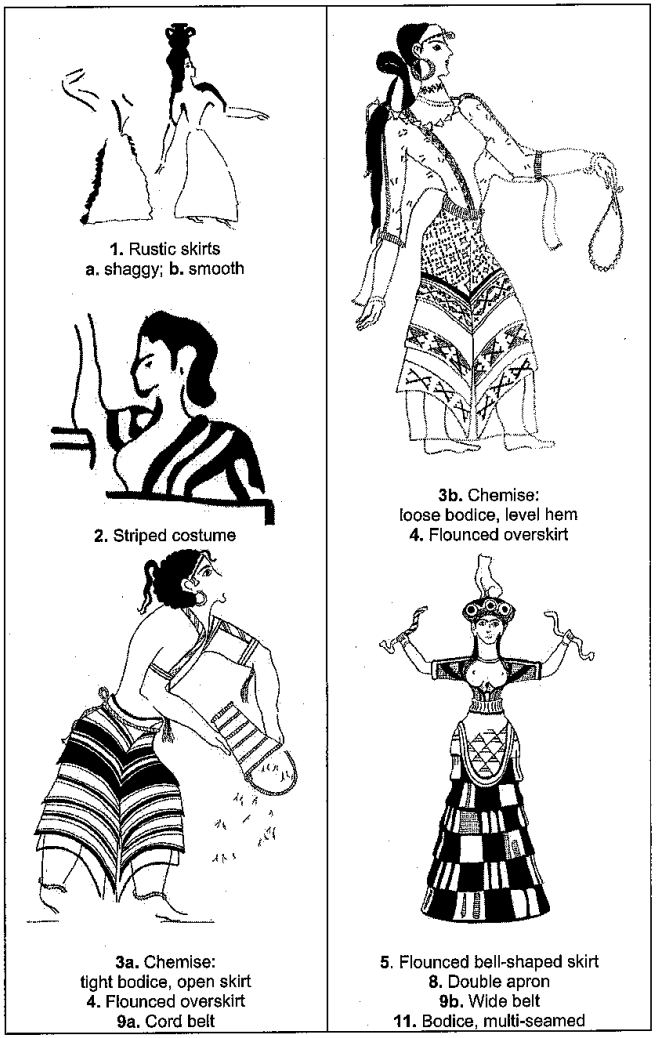
[25] Doumas, *The Wall-Paintings of Thera*, pls. 66-76; Immerwahr, 46-48, 185 (Ak No. 2), pls. VII, 14, 15.

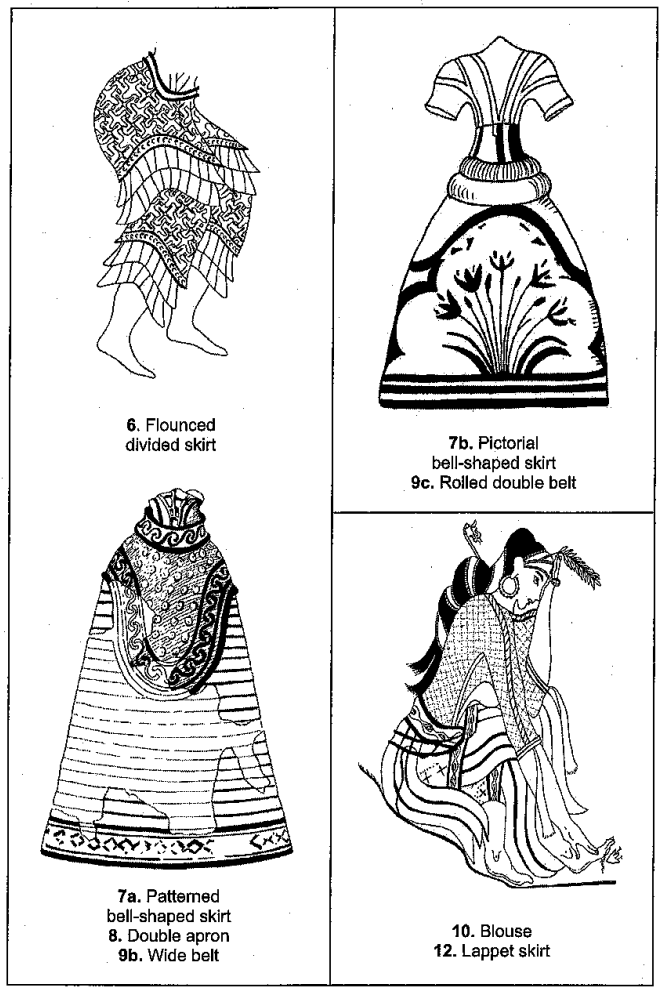
[26] Efforts have been made to identify a "Master of the Swallows" in both vase painting and wall painting but with mixed results. For bibliography and a cautious review of attributions, see Karen P. Foster, "A Flight of Swallows," *American Journal of Archaeology* 99 (1995): 409-10, n. 3. For a catalogue of swallow imagery in Aegean art, see pages 424-25.

[27] Costumes from all periods of Aegean prehistory are (unsystematically) identified and described by Sir Arthur Evans and catalogued by Joan Evans under "Dress, Minoan: female," in the *PM Index*, 42. Sir John L. Myres offers an introduction to male and female Aegean costume ("Minoan Dress," *Man* 50 [1950]:1-6), and Efi Sapouna-Sakellaraki further investigates male clothing (*Minoikon Zoma*, 1971). Colette Verlinden's comprehensive but unillustrated typology of Neopalatial costume includes LM II-III evidence for costume design (*Les statuettes anthropomorphes crétoises en bronze et en plomb, du III^e millénaire au VII^e siècle av. J.-C.* [Providence and Louvain-la Neuve: Art and Archaeology Publications, 1984], 98-112). Ariane Marcar's summary typology of male and female Aegean

therefore presented here to facilitate the process of identification (Fig. 2-5). It categorizes the various forms of women's costume recognizable from Neopalatial (MM III – LM I) frescoes and faience figurines, all of which depict costuming details in color. The typology does not take into account images of women's clothing that appear on small-scale media such as signet rings or seals, nor does it include headgear, footwear, and forms of clothing from other periods of Aegean prehistory. Costumes depicted on Neopalatial bronze figurines are treated as supplementary evidence.

costume is appended to a related study and lacks illustrations and references to specific examples of costumes ("Reconstructing Aegean Bronze Age Fashions," in *The Clothed Body in the Ancient World,* ed. Liza Cleland, Mary Harlow and Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones [Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2005], 30-43). For Theran costume, see Christina Televantou, "Η γυναικεία ενδυμασία στην προϊστορική Θήρα," *Archaiologike Ephemeris* 1982, 113-135; Lyvia Morgan, *The Miniature Wall Paintings of Thera: A Study in Aegean Culture and Iconography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 93-101; Christos Doumas, "Age and Gender in the Theran Wall Paintings." In *The Wall Paintings of Thera: Proceedings of the First International Symposium*, vol. 2, ed. Susan Sherratt (Athens: Petros M. Nomikos and The Thera Foundation, 2000), 973-75; Robert Laffineur, "Dress, Hair Style and Jewellery in the Thera Wall Paintings," in *The Wall Paintings of Thera: Proceedings of the First International Symposium*, vol. 2, ed. S. Sherratt (Athens: Petros M. Nomikos and the Thera Foundation, 2000), 891-95.



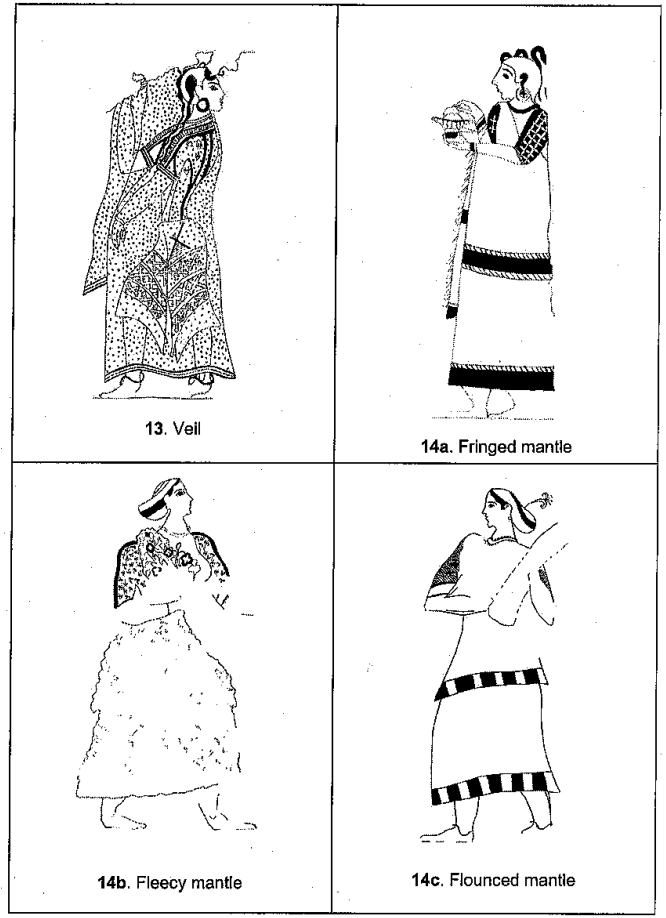


6. Flounced divided skirt

7b. Pictorial bell-shaped skirt
9c. Rolled double belt

7a. Patterned bell-shaped skirt
8. Double apron
9b. Wide belt

10. Blouse
12. Lappet skirt



13. Veil

14a. Fringed mantle

14b. Fleecy mantle

14c. Flounced mantle

Fig. 2-5. An Illustrated Typology of Neopalatial Women's Costume Design. Chapin, after Doumas 1992, pls. 7, 24, 28, 38, 105, 107; Foster 1979, pl. 10; Militello 1998, pl. 4; *PM* I, fig. 382a; Vlachopoulos 2003, figs. 22, 23.

A Typology of Neopalatial Women's Costume (Fig. 2-5)

1. Rustic Skirts. Two peasant women in the Pastoral Scene of the LC I miniature frescoes from the West House at Akrotiri wear costumes comprised of short-sleeved bodices and ankle-length skirts.[28] The shaggy skirt of the figure on the left (**1a**) has an irregular contour suggestive of colored animal hide or rough wool. A parallel for this costume is offered by a miniature fresco fragment from Ayia Irini, Keos, which preserves a portion of a woman wearing a similar but shorter shaggy skirt.[29] The smooth outlines of the skirt on the right, however, suggest cloth (**1b**). Clearly worn for work and everyday wear, parallels for the shaggy skirt are known from ritual contexts.[30]

2. Striped Garment. Worn by townswomen in the Flotilla Fresco from the West House miniature frescoes of Akrotiri, this item of clothing seems to have been made from striped woven cloth and was probably sewn from three pieces of fabric. Its repeated appearance in the Arrival Town suggests that it may have served as the everyday clothing of Cycladic townswomen.[31]

3. Chemise. The chemise is worn by many large-scale female figures in the Theran frescoes and is recognizable as a short-sleeved, calf- or ankle-length dress, recently dubbed a "Minoan chiton."[32] The chemises worn by the Saffron Gatherers of Xeste 3 (**3a**) are characterized by form-fitting bodices with plunging necklines open to the waist and lower skirts that are un-seamed in front to allow freedom of leg movement. It is possible that this type of chemise was completely open in front, much like a modern bathrobe, and that the garment was secured at the waist by a cord belt (**9a**) tied over the flounced overskirt (**4**). Indeed, the high step of the youngest Saffron Gatherer with a shaved head might seem to support this possibility.[33] Yet this type of chemise could also have been sewn with a front seam extending from the waist to the knees, which are portions of the

[28] Morgan, *The Miniature Wall Paintings*, 98; Doumas, *The Wall-Paintings of Thera*, pl. 28.
[29] Morgan, *The Miniature Wall Paintings*, 94, fig. 61:d.
[30] Ibid., 98.
[31] Morgan further observes that similar striped garments emerge as popular costumes in the LH III period (Ibid., 98-99).
[32] Bernice Jones, "The Minoan 'Snake Goddess': New Interpretations of Her Costume and Identity," in *POTNIA: Deities and Religion in the Aegean Bronze Age*, ed. Robert Laffineur and Robin Hägg (Liège and Austin: Université de Liège and the University of Texas, 2001), 261.
[33] Doumas, *The Wall-Paintings of Thera*, pl. 120.

costume obscured by the flounced overskirt. More information is needed to distinguish between the two possible designs.

In comparison, the loose-fitting chemise worn by the Necklace Swinger of Xeste 3 has a level hemline, suggesting that the lower half of this dress was sewn together (**3b**). Its sleeves are distinctly spacious and roomy, and the neckline drops in characteristically Aegean fashion to the waist. The loose chemise is also worn with a flounced overskirt (**4**). Christina Televantou observes that in Theran painting, the chemise may be made of opaque or diaphanous fabric.[34] The heavier cloth could have been wool or linen (both of which are attested in later Linear B tablets), and the sheer fabric of the Necklace Swinger's costume may represent fine linen, but the recent discovery of a silk cocoon at Akrotiri raises the additional possibility that the semi-transparent chemises may represent silk garments.[35]

4-6. Flounced Garments. Four types of flounced garments are identifiable in Neopalatial art: the overskirt or back apron (**4**), the bell-shaped skirt (**5**), the divided skirt (**6**), and one variety of mantle (**14c**). The flounced overskirt/back apron (**4**) is well represented among the Theran frescoes, being worn by female figures from the House of the Ladies and Xeste 3,[36] but Colette Verlinden's analysis of Minoan costume (including bronze figurines, signet rings, and seals) suggests that the costume type probably originated on Crete.[37] The overskirt is characterized by angled flounces and a relatively short length, and some images of the garment describe fringe.[38] In comparison, the bell-shaped flounced skirt is longer (ankle-length) and has many layers of horizontal flounces, perhaps made of either pleated material or fringe. The garment is exemplified by the famous MM IIIB or LM IA "Snake Goddess" statuette from the East Temple Repository at Knossos.[39] Interestingly, both types of flounced

[34] Televantou, 113-23.
[35] Eva Panagiotakopulu, "Butterflies, Flowers, and Aegean Iconography: A Story about Silk and Cotton," in *The Wall Paintings of Thera: Proceedings of the First International Symposium*, vol. 2, ed. Susan Sherratt (Athens: Petros M. Nomikos and the Thera Foundation, 2000), 585-91; Jones, "The Minoan 'Snake Goddess,'" 261.
[36] Doumas, *The Wall-Paintings of Thera*, pls. 6, 7, 100, 116, 122.
[37] Verlinden, 104-06.
[38] Doumas, *The Wall-Paintings of Thera*, pls. 11, 12.
[39] *PM* I, 501-5, figs. 360-62; *PM* III, 440, 442, fig. 306; Karen P. Foster, *Aegean Faience of the Bronze Age* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1979), 72-78, pls. 10, 11; Marina Panagiotaki, *The Central Palace Sanctuary at Knossos* (London: British School at Athens, 1999), 98 (no. 211), 99 fig. 25, pl. 17; Jones, "The Minoan 'Snake Goddess,'" 259-65.

garments appear in the MM IIIB or LM I Sacred Grove and Dance Fresco from Knossos, where fragments preserve parts of three performers in angled flounced overskirts worn with chemises and one dancer costumed in a bell-shaped skirt distinguished by horizontal flounces.[40]

The flounced divided skirt (**6**) is evidenced by the LM I frescoes from the villa at Ayia Triada, where a woman with slightly bent knees wears a garment that covers each leg with arching flounces separated by sections of patterned cloth.[41] The garment extends from the waist to the mid-calf with no visible undergarment, so that the divided skirt suggests modern culottes or baggy pants. Lastly, the flounced mantle (**13c**) is described below with two other forms of mantles. The pictorial contexts of the flounced garments suggest they were worn during important rituals.

7. Bell-Shaped Skirt. In addition to the flounced variety of bell-shaped skirt (**5**), two further types of bell-shaped skirt are identified and catalogued separately as: **a**) patterned and **b**) pictorial. The patterned bell-shaped skirt (**7a**) appears to have been sewn from large pieces of unpleated patterned cloth, as illustrated by a fragmentary faience figurine from the East Temple Repository at Knossos, dated to MM IIIB or LM IA.[42] Though only partially preserved, the statuette features a striped skirt ornamented with a diamond pattern at the hem. A double apron (**8**) and a wide belt (or girdle, **9b**) accessorize the costume. A similar skirt and apron are restored to the large snake handler statuette from Knossos, but intertwined snakes serve as a belt.[43] Patterned bell-shaped skirts also appear on some standing figures in the Grandstand Fresco.[44] The pictorial variation of the bell-shaped skirt (**7b**) is evidenced by three faience costume models from the East Temple Repository at Knossos, each featuring rounded skirts ornamented with large crocus designs (Fig. 2-6a, b).[45] The archaeological and iconographic contexts of the bell-shaped skirt suggest that the costume type was probably worn for rituals and ceremonies.

[40] Immerwahr, 65-66, 173 (Kn No. 16), pl. 23.
[41] Myres, 4; Pietro Militello, *Haghia Triada I: Gli affreschi minoici di Haghia Triada (Creta)* (Padova: Bottega d'Erasmo, 1998), pls. 4, D, E.
[42] *PM* I, 505-06, 523, fig. 382; Foster, *Aegean Faience*, 72-73, fig. 10, pl. 9; Panagiotaki, 98 (no. 212), 100 fig. 26, pl. 17.
[43] *PM* I, 500-01, fig. 359, fig. 377 (left of center), frontispiece; Foster, *Aegean Faience*, 70-72, pls. 7, 8; Panagiotaki, 97-98 (no. 210), 100 fig. 26, pl. 17.
[44] Immerwahr, 63-65, 173 (Kn No. 15), fig. 34e, pl. 22.
[45] *PM* I, 506, fig. 364a-b; Foster, *Aegean Faience*, 86-89, figs. 17, 18; Panagiotaki, 101 (nos. 217-19), 102 fig. 27.

8. Double Apron. In addition to the double aprons worn with bell-shaped skirts noted above, a fragment of a MM IIIB/LM IA relief fresco from Knossos preserves part of a white thigh and the curving border of a brightly painted apron. Mark Cameron believed that the fragment belonged to a female bull leaper, and it offers intriguing evidence that the double apron may have been worn by female athletes.[46]

9. Belt. Three belt types are identifiable: **a**) cord, **b**) wide, **c**) rolled. A cord belt (**9a**) secures the flounced overskirt or back apron worn over the chemise in female costumes depicted in the House of the Ladies and Xeste 3 at Akrotiri, Thera.[47] The wide belt (**9b**) has already been noted above on faience figurines from Knossos and appears with spiral and striped decoration. The rolled belt (**9c**) is worn with the pictorial bell-shaped skirts discussed above and is also illustrated by two faience costume models identified as girdles found in the East Temple Repository at Knossos; one of these is embellished with pictorial crocus decoration (Fig. 2-6c).[48]

10. Blouse. A blouse is an article of clothing for women that covers the upper body from neck to waist and, in Aegean art, closely resembles the upper part of a chemise, with both garments featuring short sleeves and open fronts. Distinguishing between a blouse and a chemise can be difficult because Aegean women typically wore long skirts that hide the length of the upper garment. The Wounded Woman from the lustral basin of Xeste 3, however, offers good evidence for the existence of the blouse, where the lack of a hem about the figure's lower legs suggests the short length of a blouse.[49] It is likely, too, that flounced divided skirts (**6**) were worn with blouses.

11. Bodice. Defined as the upper part of a woman's dress, the term "bodice" is used here to refer to garments that cannot easily be identified as either chemises or blouses. The garment covering the upper body of the "Snake Goddess" faience figurine from the East Temple Repository at

[46] *PM* III, 330-31, fig. 220; Mark A.S. Cameron, "A General Study of Minoan Frescoes with Particular Reference to Unpublished Wall Paintings from Knossos," 4 vols. (PhD diss., University of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1975), 709, pl. 42E. For additional discussion of the double apron and female athletes, see Verlinden, 108.
[47] See above, note 36.
[48] *PM* I, 506, fig. 364d; Foster, *Aegean Faience*, 89, fig. 19; Panagiotaki, 102-03 (no. 221), fig. 27.
[49] As observed by Paul Rehak, "Crocus Costumes in Aegean Art," in *ΧΑΡΙΣ: Essays in Honor of Sara A. Immerwahr*, ed. Anne P. Chapin (Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2004), 88. For photos, see Doumas, *The Wall-Paintings of Thera*, pls. 100, 105, 106.

Knossos, for example, is best described as a bodice.[50] Four types of bodices—some belonging to chemises—have recently been identified in Aegean art: the loose bodice, bodices with and without side seams, and bodices with multiple seams, such as that worn by the "Snake Goddess."[51]

12. Lappet Skirt. The unusual skirt worn by the Wounded Woman of Xeste 3 is made of narrow strips of cloth that hang like lappets and are bound together by a wide belt.[52] Elizabeth Barber has demonstrated that this garment is a variant of a string skirt, a traditional item of clothing in European folk costumes symbolizing sexual maturity and readiness for marriage.[53]

13. Veil. A voluminous veil of sheer fabric, saffron yellow in color, rectangular in shape, edged with blue bands and embellished with red dots (beads?) envelops the Veiled Girl of the Adorants Fresco in Xeste 3.[54] A similar veil may be depicted in a fresco of a female figure from Archanes.[55]

14. Mantle. Three variations of this one-shouldered garment appear in the Theran frescoes: a) fringed, b) fleecy, and c) flounced. The fringed mantle (**14a**), as evidenced by the "Priestess" of the West House, Thera, appears to be fashioned from woven cloth ornamented with two sets of blue and white bands; short brownish lines along the vertical edge suggest

[50] See above, note 39.
[51] Abby Lillethun, "The Recreation of Aegean Cloth and Clothing," in *METRON: Measuring the Aegean Bronze Age*, ed. Karen P. Foster and Robert Laffineur (Liège and Austin: Université de Liège and the University of Texas, 2003), 468. The loose bodice worn by the Necklace Swinger of Xeste 3 belongs to a chemise, as do the tight bodices without side seams worn by the Saffron Gatherers of Xeste 3. The women of the House of the Ladies at Akrotiri may wear un-patterned blouses with patterned skirts rather than chemises, and the bodices show side seams.
[52] See above, note 49.
[53] Elizabeth J.W. Barber, *Women's Work: The First 20,000 Years: Women, Cloth and Society in Early Times* (New York and London: W.W. Norton and Co., 1994), 42-70, especially 59.
[54] Doumas, *The Wall-Paintings of Thera*, pl. 107. On the cloak, see Rehak, "Crocus Costumes," 89-90; Bernice Jones, "Veils and Mantles: An Investigation of the Construction and Function of the Costumes of the Veiled Dancer from Thera and the Camp Stool Banqueter from Knossos," in *METRON: Measuring the Aegean Bronze Age*, ed. Karen P. Foster and Robert Laffineur (Liège and Austin: Université de Liège and the University of Texas, 2003), 441-50.
[55] See above, note 17.

fringe.[56] This garment may have been made from cloth wound around the body and over the shoulder like a modern sari, as suggested by Nannó Marinatos,[57] or folded around the torso and secured at the right shoulder, leaving the right side open. Like the diaphanous veil of the Xeste 3 frescoes, this garment is unstructured, and it seems similar though not identical to mantle-like costumes worn by figures sometimes identified as male priests carved on Aegean seals.[58] A ritual context for the mantle seems likely from the observation that the Priestess, whose sub-adult social status is indicated by her partially shaved scalp and long snaky tresses of hair, sprinkles a yellowish substance (saffron?) over the hot coals of an incense burner.[59]

The two other mantle types appear in the Procession Fresco of Xeste 3. Fleecy mantles (**14b**), red and yellow in color, cover the Basket Bearer and the Rose Bearer in the processional corridor. The knobby contours of the garments and the "hairy" brush strokes detailing a wooly texture characterize these robes as fleecy rather than woven. The projecting shapes just above the level of the knees of the Rose Bearer may suggest fleecy flounces but similar detailing is not preserved on the Basket Bearer. The clearly flounced mantle (**14c**), worn by the Lily Bearer of Xeste 3, is fashioned from plain white cloth sewn with two red and yellow flounces. An undulating line crossing the figure's upper right arm suggests that the mantle was gathered into folds over her right shoulder.[60]

[56] Doumas, *The Wall-Paintings of Thera*, pls. 24-25. Marinatos (*Art and Religion in Thera*, 46) suggests that the garment is shaggy and could imitate skin, but the decorative bands suggest textile manufacture.
[57] Marinatos, *Art and Religion in Thera*, 46.
[58] Ibid., 46, fig. 27.
[59] Ibid., 34-61 for the identification of a shrine in the West House.
[60] Folds are rare in Aegean art. Lillethun, 470, identifies a wrinkle of cloth at the shoulders of the Saffron Gatherers of Xeste 3, and a fresco fragment from LH IIIA-B Mycenaean Pylos preserves faint vertical lines on a garment that may represent folds (Mabel L. Lang, *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia, Vol. II: The Frescoes* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), 85, pls. 31, D, N [50 H nws]).

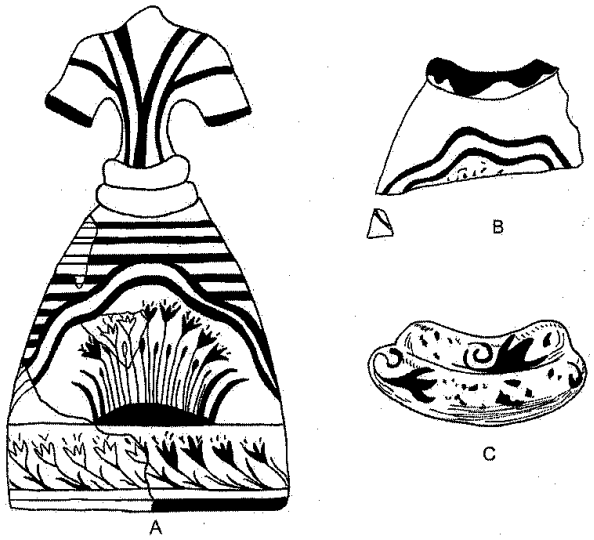


Fig. 2-6. Faience costume models from the East Temple Repository, Knossos. Chapin, after *PM* I, 506, fig. 364a, d and Panagiotaki 1999, 102, fig. 27 (no. 219).

Discussion. There can be little doubt that Aegean female costuming traditions were elaborate and varied. The typology offers proof for considerable diversity, and it seems likely that additional garments will be identified as new finds are made and as known art objects are reexamined for evidence of prehistoric costume design. Mireille Lee suggests that this variety, particularly when compared to relatively homogeneous costuming traditions for men, indicates that Aegean gender categories for male and female were strictly constructed and perpetuated daily and individually through dress.[61] Moreover, evidence from modern costume recreation suggests that the prehistoric Aegean practice of cutting and sewing strips of cloth to fashion form-fitting clothing contrasts significantly with classical Greek costuming traditions, where dresses such as the peplos

[61] Mireille M. Lee, "Deciphering Gender in Minoan Dress," in *Reading the Body: Representations and Remains in the Archaeological Record,* ed. Alison E. Rautman (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 119.

were made from large rectangles of cloth that were folded, pinned, and sometimes belted to fit the female form with a minimum of sewing.[62] Finally, examination of the typology of female dress suggests that a hierarchy of costume may have existed. Theran paintings depict peasant women wearing rustic skirts, townswomen clothed in striped woven costumes, and wealthy women—as estimated by their elaborate jewelry—adorned in finely decorated chemises and patterned flounced overskirts. Moreover, the Xeste 3 frescoes present the greatest variety of female costume in any one pictorial program, depicting two types of chemises and two types of mantles along with the flounced overskirt, blouse, lappet skirt, veil, and cord belt, all of which contrasts sharply with the greater homogeneity of female costume displayed in the Grandstand and Sacred Grove and Dance Frescoes from Knossos.

The Lady of the Landscape and Aegean Costumes with Landscape Motifs

Although almost all of the upper costume worn by the Lady of the Landscape is lost, a comparison of the lower portions with the above typology suggests that the figure was costumed either in a mantle or a bell-shaped skirt. The length and shape of the preserved portions of the garment could suggest a mantle (**14**) roughly similar in design to those worn by the other three processional figures, although there is no evidence for the fringe, flounces, or fleecy texture that characterizes the three identified types. If the Lady's garment is a mantle, then a new category, the "pictorial mantle," should be added to the typology. However, the slightly flaring contour of the Lady's landscape costume is also reminiscent of the pictorial bell-shaped skirt (**7b**). Of the three faience dress models from the East Temple Repository at Knossos that depict this garment, the large costume model preserves a bell-shaped skirt decorated with (woven?) horizontal stripes, an undulating double band, and a large crocus plant springing from a low mound. A band of crocus flowers and leaves also embellishes the hem (Fig. 2-6a). The second faience model features a similar but simpler design as the first (Fig. 2-5), and the third model, of which only a small portion survives, preserves only wavy bands

[62] Lillethun, 467; contra Bernice Jones, "Revealing Minoan Fashions: Cretan Styles Regain Center Stage," *Archaeology* 53.3 (2000): 36-41. See also Diana Wardle, "Does Reconstruction Help? A Mycenaean Dress and the Dendra Suit of Armor," in *Problems in Greek Prehistory,* ed. Elizabeth. B. French and Ken A. Wardle (Bristol: Bristol Classical Press, 1988), 469-76.

and the tips of crocus flowers (Fig. 2-6b).[63] These parallels suggest that the Lady of the Landscape's design of swallows and rocks could have decorated a similarly-designed bell-shaped skirt, but without fragments from the upper portion of the Lady's costume, it is not possible to choose between either alternative.

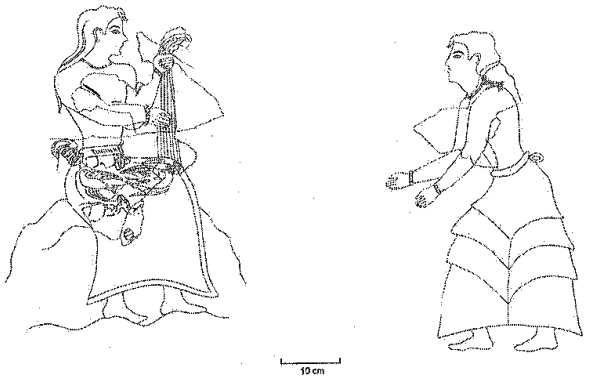


Fig. 2-7. Possible Reconstruction of a Presentation Scene with Goddess and Votary. Phylakopi, Melos. Chapin, after PM I, 43 fig. 26 and Morgan 1990, 259, fig. 8.

Interestingly, the Lady's costume recalls a contemporary fresco of a female figure seated on rocks and holding a cloth or a net in her hands (Fig. 2-7).[64] Excavated in 1898 from the area of the pillar crypt at Phylakopi, Melos, in the Cycladic Islands, the fresco's colors are less well preserved than those of the Theran frescoes and portions of the figure remain missing. Drawings of the fragments, however, show a white short-sleeved bodice trimmed with red bands, a yellow waistband secured by knotted blue cords, and an un-flounced skirt decorated with a rocky landscape and two creatures flying in opposite directions. The rockwork

[63] *PM* I, 500-01, 505-06, 523, figs. 359, 364a-b, 377, 382, frontispiece; Foster, *Aegean Faience*, 86-89, figs. 17-18, pl. 17; Panagiotaki, 101-03 (nos. 217-19), fig. 27, pl. 17.
[64] Immerwahr, 54, 62, 189 (Ph No. 2).

seems similar to that of the Xeste 3 Lady's costume, being painted with red, yellow, blue, and perhaps white rocks veined and outlined in black, but the partially-preserved flying creatures defy precise identification. The wings, body, and tail of the better preserved animal seem bird-like, and Evans accordingly identified them as swallows, but he also noted that their symmetrical and antithetical positions, along with the notched plume designs on their feathers, recall depictions of sphinxes and griffins.[65] For these reasons, Mark Cameron identified the creatures as crested griffins.[66] Unfortunately the heads do not survive, and the creatures cannot be identified on present evidence. Nevertheless, the overall effect of the skirt's landscape decoration is undeniably similar to that of the Lady of the Landscape. If this figure were to stand up, it is tempting to imagine that the Phylakopi landscape costume would fall into the graceful lines of a bell-shaped skirt.

Additional evidence for floral, faunal, and landscape motifs used as costume decoration exists only in a few incomplete representations of clothing from Neopalatial Aegean frescoes. The best evidence is supplied by a MM III-LM I fresco fragment from Katsamba, near Knossos on Crete, depicting a pictorial belt decorated in miniature with a frieze of yellow birds, probably hoopoes, in a rocky landscape with reed-like plants.[67] Less certain is a MM IIIB/LM IA fresco fragment from the Savakis Bothros at Knossos painted with a miniature design of crocuses in a rocky landscape that could preserve a dress design.[68] A fresco fragment from the Knossos palace painted with a curving row of lily flowers may represent costume decoration,[69] and a fresco fragment from Palaikastro painted with crocus flowers in a geometric lattice probably belongs to a skirt or blouse design.[70] Additionally, miniature representations of sphinxes, a griffin, and bucrania found on fresco fragments from Knossos were identified by Sir Arthur Evans as embroidered textile designs,[71] and

[65] *PM* III, 40-42, 43 fig. 26.
[66] Cameron, "A General Study of Minoan Frescoes," 65, 368. Morgan (*The Miniature Wall Paintings*, 49-54), however, observes that winged griffins in Neopalatial art often lack the notched plume decoration and are usually represented with the bodies and tails of lions in combination with heads and wings of birds.
[67] Shaw, "A Minoan Fresco from Katsamba," 27-34; Immerwahr, 67, 182 (Ka No. 1).
[68] Mark A.S. Cameron, "Savakis's Bothros: A Minor Sounding at Knossos." *Annual of the British School at Athens* 71 (1976): 5-13, fig. 3a, pl. 3a.
[69] *PM* III, 130-31, figs. 85.
[70] Immerwahr, 182-83 (Pa No. 1); Rehak, "Crocus Costumes," 96, 98 (no. 10).
[71] *PM* III, 37-42, fig. 25. For other textile decoration depicting architectural motifs (beam ends) and perhaps quivers, see *PM* III, figs. 21-23.

papyrus and ivy motifs are found among the woven textile patterns of costumes worn by frescoed figures from Knossos.[72]

While the existence of pictorial costumes has recently been challenged, the Lady of the Landscape's costume of swallows and rocks, together with the parallels discussed above, clearly establishes their appearance in prehistoric Aegean art. A rare but important category of pictorial costume decoration is thus confirmed.[73] How these floral and faunal motifs were created, however, remains unknown. Elizabeth Barber suggests a variety of possible methods, including tapestry techniques, embroidery, appliqué, or even painting for one time use.[74] Without a preserved costume, the answer may never be known.

Interestingly, the Lady of the Landscape's landscape costume finds good company in Xeste 3, where female garments are extensively decorated with motifs drawn from native flora and fauna. In addition to the crocus stigmas (and perhaps entire flowers, though murex purple pigment is fugitive) that embellish the short-sleeved bodices of the Enthroned Goddess, the Necklace Swinger, the Veiled Girl, and the Basket Bearer, the Wounded Woman wears a belt ornamented with crocus buds. As Paul Rehak observes, this crocus symbolism unifies the iconography of Xeste 3 by establishing a connection between the Enthroned Goddess and women of all ages and, moreover, underscores the importance of cloth and clothing as a means of communication among women.[75] But the textile iconography of the Xeste 3 frescoes, while clearly focused on the saffron crocus, encompasses an even wider range of motifs. Lilies decorate the bodice of the Rose Bearer, blue birds (possibly rock doves) ornament the Lily Bearer's sleeve, and flying fish painted in a rocky sea reportedly decorate the belt of a fifth processional woman.[76] It is within this diverse context of costume iconography that the Lady of the Landscape's unusual garment must be understood.

Despite incomplete preservation, the Seated Woman from Phylakopi likewise belongs to a broader iconographic program that includes the famous Flying Fish Fresco, a Lily Fresco, a Spiral Fresco, and a large

[72] *PM* III, 297, fig. 194; Ariane Marcar, "Aegean Costume and the Dating of the Knossian Frescoes," in *Knossos: Palace, City, State*, ed. Gerald Cadogan, Eleni Hatzaki, and Adonis Vasilakis, London: British School at Athens, 2004, 230, 231 fig. 17.2.
[73] Contra Marcar, "Aegean Costume," 229.
[74] Barber, *Prehistoric Textiles*, 320-21.
[75] Rehak, "Crocus Costumes," 97.
[76] Shaw, "A Minoan Fresco from Katsambas," 32.

fragment depicting the white shoulders of a woman leaning forward.[77] Lyvia Morgan observes that these compositions contrast nature with human culture just as the Reed Fresco with its ducks and dragonflies offers a wild counterpoint to the adjacent Mistress of Animals Fresco in Xeste 3. Morgan also suggests that the Leaning Woman has perhaps made a presentation of cloth to the Seated Woman, who raises textiles in her hands (Fig. 2-7). For Morgan, the Seated Woman wearing the landscape skirt is a goddess, much as the Enthroned Goddess of Xeste 3 is seated and receives an offering (indirectly) from a bending Saffron Gatherer. Morgan's interpretation of both the Theran and Melian frescoes thereby emphasizes a shared iconography of women, textiles, and landscape,[78] elements which coalesce in the persons of the Melian Seated Woman/goddess and the Theran Lady of the Landscape. These distinctive landscape costumes, then, might confer special status upon the figures, functioning as what Evans termed "holy robes."[79] Elizabeth Barber too suspects that such unusually elaborate costumes might have served to identify a goddess or a "divine principle" in art.[80] Indeed, most large-scale images of women in Aegean art, especially those in elaborate costumes, are identified today either as goddesses or priestesses.[81] But can these ideas be confirmed? More specifically, as a medium of communication in Aegean society, what messages did the landscape costume convey?

The Lady of the Landscape and the Social Significance of Costuming in Xeste 3

The Lady of the Landscape's elaborate costume of swallows and rocks might suggest that the Lady is symbolically linked with the natural world and that the swallows function as her identifying attribute, much as iconographic attributes distinguish the deities and heroes of later Classical art (e.g., the aegis of Athena, or the bow of Artemis).

Unfortunately, prehistoric Aegean iconography is not so clear-cut, and efforts to differentiate divine beings and mortal individuals from one another remain frustrated by a perplexing flexibility of iconographic

[77] Immerwahr, 47-48, 54, 62, 189 (Ph Nos. 1-4), pl. 16.
[78] Lyvia Morgan, "Island Iconography: Thera, Kea, Milos," in *Thera and the Aegean World* III: *Proceedings of the Third International Congress* vol. I, ed. David A. Hardy, Christos G. Doumas, Yannis A. Sakellarakis, and Peter M. Warren (London: The Thera Foundation, 1990), 260-63, figs. 7-12.
[79] *PM* III, 42.
[80] Barber, *Prehistoric Textiles*, 321.
[81] Immerwahr, 62.

symbol and a persistent anonymity deriving in part from a lack of identifying textual labels.[82] The iconography of Xeste 3 offers a case in point. Prominent among the frescoes is the Enthroned Goddess, a divine figure whose prehistoric name remains unknown but whose immortal status is recognizable from the actions of the other figures, from her central and elevated seated position, and from her attendant griffin and monkey (Fig. 2-3). Her costume iconography includes crocus decoration, dragonfly and waterfowl necklaces, beam-end patterns on her sleeves, and a snake-like tress of hair that slithers down her back. Some of these attributes link her to other prominent female figures in Aegean art. The snaky hair, for instance, recalls the serpents held by the "Snake Goddess" faience figurine from Knossos. Do these two figures represent the same divine being? On present evidence, it is impossible to say. And how does the Enthroned Goddess relate to the Lady of the Landscape? At a glance, the iconography of costume—one featuring swallows, the other notable for its crocuses—would seem to suggest distinct identities perhaps related by a general interest in nature.

Rather than seeking to distinguish individual identities, however, the ambivalent and flexible character of Aegean costume iconography can be explored for the significant associations it creates among figures. The Enthroned Goddess's crocus decoration, for example, establishes a symbolic connection with the Lady of the Landscape's companion, the Basket Bearer, whose bodice and hair are ornamented with crocuses. Crocuses also appear in the Adorants Fresco of the lustral basin and on the knobby rocks of Room 4 in the fresco of monkeys and swallows. Swallows and undulating rocks, of course, form the subject of the Lady of the Landscape's costume decoration. One of the swallows from Room 4, moreover, has captured a red dragonfly, and in the Reed Fresco, red dragonflies and ducks similar to those depicted as ornaments in the goddess's necklace are pictured alive and at home in their natural environment. These pictorial elements can be arranged into what is identified here as an iconographic circle, which demonstrates how the Lady of the Landscape, along with other figures and compositions of Xeste 3, are intimately connected to the Enthroned Goddess through a complex web of intertwined symbols (Fig. 2-8). A second iconographic circle can also be drawn linking the goddess with the crocus and lily

[82] For a recent review of this problem with further bibliography, see Paul Rehak and John G. Younger, "Review of Aegean Prehistory VII: Neopalatial, Final Palatial, and Postpalatial Crete," in *Aegean Prehistory: A Review*, ed. T. Cullen (Boston: Archaeological Institute of America, 2001), 438-39.

costumes worn by the processional women through the crocuses and lilies of the lustral basin frescoes.

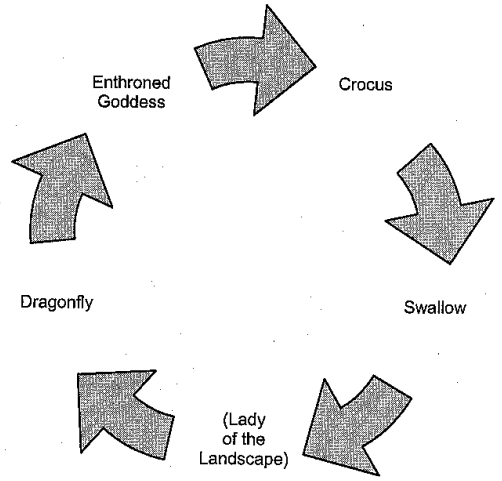


Fig. 2-8. Iconographic Circle of Xeste 3 with Crocuses, Swallows, and Dragonflies.

The complexity of iconography implied by these iconographic circles suggests that the Xeste 3 fresco program could illustrate a highly developed mythic or religious cycle, one that may have been reenacted by members of the Theran community in ritual performances.[83] The manner in which pictorial subjects and individual iconographic elements are linked in iconographic circles across separate compositions even suggests that the various frescoes could have been intended as counterpoints to one another in order to develop deeper levels of symbolic meaning within the visual cycle. Such iconographic complexity is rarely preserved in prehistoric

[83] Marinatos (*Art and Religion in Thera*, 80-81) and Vlachopoulos ("Motifs of Early Greek Poetry") observe parallels between the paintings of Xeste 3 and mythic figures of early Greek poetry.

Aegean art, but it is a regular feature of more recent religious art.[84] Thus, while it cannot yet be determined *how* the prehistoric Aegean artist(s) intended for their symbols to be read, and even though the individual identities of the figures depicted in the Xeste 3 frescoes—including the Lady of the Landscape—remain unknown, it is clear that a sophisticated, interwoven and multi-layered iconography binds the Xeste 3 pictorial program together and relates the figures' elaborate costumes to significant programmatic themes. This costume iconography thus serves both to identify and differentiate individual figures even as it emphasizes their connections with others.

Within this intricate pictorial program of myth and ritual performance, the Lady of the Landscape and her processional companions are positioned in the upper floor corridor leading from back stairwell (8) into Room 3 (Fig. 2-2). This narrow passage connects the small service and storage rooms of Xeste 3 (Rooms 6-14) with the larger and more elaborate public spaces of the building (Rooms 2-5). The Lady and her companions therefore appear to be situated on the programmatic margins, approaching the "inner circle" with the Enthroned Goddess and her attendant Saffron Gatherers, but still standing outside of it. Even the frescoes of hunters, athletes, swallows, and sword-brandishing monkeys on the ground floor were awarded more prominent positions, since viewers would see these compositions as they entered Xeste 3 through the vestibule (Room 5) and approached Room 3 via Room 4.

If, moreover, frescoes functioned as signposts that directed the viewer's attention and offered an indication of the activities and rituals that once occurred in the decorated space, then it might be imagined that the Procession Fresco depicts real women from Akrotiri carrying floral offerings from the service rooms of Xeste 3 into the building's ritual spaces. Indeed, the wealth of naturalistic detail offered by the careful rendering of costume and physique encourage the viewer to trust the veracity of the composition. Unfortunately, details of iconography might make this interpretation difficult. In particular, the women carry or wear flowers that blossom in different times of the year: "roses", whether identified as wild roses or rockrose (cistus), bloom in the spring (April – May), Madonna lilies (*Lilium candidum* L.) flower in early summer (May – July), and crocuses (*Crocus cartwrightianus*) open in late autumn (October – December).[85] The floral iconography of the Procession Fresco thereby encompasses three different seasons, creating a sense of timelessness that enhances the transcendent quality of the composition.[86] In short, the Procession Fresco sends mixed messages of reality and myth.

[84] The complex pictorial programs of many Medieval and Renaissance monuments, for example, regularly make use of iconographic interconnections and counterpoints. Old Testament narratives often function as prefigurations of New Testament events, and even individual pictorial elements may serve as powerful symbols adding new layers of meaning. On Christian iconography, see Leslie Ross, *Medieval Art: A Topical Dictionary* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996).

Nevertheless, costuming and personal adornment serve to identify the Lady of the Landscape and her companions as members of a social elite, presumably in imitation of real women from Akrotiri. They wear thick golden necklaces and finely woven costumes that are extensively embellished with murex purple (known later in antiquity as "royal purple").[87] The ornate swallow costume worn by the Lady of the Landscape, moreover, finds its closest parallels in the frescoes from Phylakopi, Melos, and in the faience pictorial costume models deposited in the East Temple Repository at Knossos. As such, the Lady's costume not only should rank highly in a costume hierarchy, it may even link her directly with the Knossian palatial elite.

But despite the high social status suggested by their costuming, the Lady of the Landscape and her processional companions play only supporting roles in the ritual narratives that focus on a younger generation of girls and women. The frescoes seem to suggest that as matrons, these women have ensured the future of Theran society by rearing its next generation, and as mature women, they serve their goddess and their community in ceremonial roles intended to support their daughters. Indeed, the entire fresco program of Xeste 3 seems to place an emphasis on *communal*—rather than individual—aspects of ritual performance and deemphasizes the role played by any one figure except, of course, for the Enthroned Goddess.

Within this context, it is difficult to conclude that the Lady of the Landscape's unusual and highly ornate costume identifies her as a goddess or a divine personage, as has been suggested for the Phylakopi Seated Woman. It is possible—perhaps even likely—that the procession identifies the Lady and her companions as priestesses,[88] but if so, then their priestly

[85] George Sfikas, *Wild Flowers of Crete* (Athens: Efstathiadis Group, 1987), 146, 269-70, 278.

[86] On a similar use of floral iconography in Minoan landscape paintings, see Anne P. Chapin, "Power, Privilege, and Landscape in Minoan Art," in *ΧΑΡΙΣ: Essays in Honor of Sara A. Immerwahr*, ed. Anne P. Chapin (Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2004), 47-64.

[87] Chrysikopoulou, 77.

[88] As suggested by Boulotis, 54.

status seems limited when compared to the actions of the girl and the monkey who present offerings to the Enthroned Goddess. Altogether, it seems that the existing categories of "goddess," "priestess," "votary," "adorant," etc., used by scholars to categorize figures in Aegean religious art are, in fact, inadequate when applied to the complex visual narratives of Xeste 3.

The Lady of the Landscape thus offers a cautionary lesson to those attempting to read Aegean pictorial art. Had the fresco program been less well preserved, it might have been tempting to assume that the Lady's special costume identified her as a goddess or an important priestess. But the excellent state of preservation within Xeste 3 suggests instead that the Lady of the Landscape, whose ornate costume characterizes her as an important member of a privileged social class, plays a surprisingly minor role within the rich narrative sequence of Xeste 3. The messages embedded in the Lady's costume, then, are not simple equations such as "Landscape Costume = Goddess," or even "Landscape Costume = Important Priestess." Rather, her costume speaks to elite social status, symbolic connections with the palatial elite of Knossos, and perhaps to a priestly function, but it is likely that its meaning is complex, multivalent, and intimately linked to a lost mythic or religious cycle.

In the end, this investigation into the costume of the Lady of the Landscape from Xeste 3 highlights and qualifies the importance of costuming in prehistoric Aegean myth and ritual. First, a typological survey of Neopalatial costume identifies fourteen categories of garments and accessories, seven of which appear in the Xeste 3 frescoes. Of these costume types, the Lady of the Landscape wore either a pictorial mantle or a bell-shaped skirt. Secondly, a review of evidence for pictorial garments suggests that the Lady's landscape costume, while unusual, has important parallels in Neopalatial art. The well-preserved landscape design on this costume therefore confirms the existence of an important (but infrequently recognized) form of elite costume decoration. Finally, while the iconography of costume underscores the Lady of the Landscape's (1) privileged social status, (2) her distinct identity, and (3) her symbolic connections with the Enthroned Goddess, her status within Xeste 3 is nevertheless subsumed by a programmatic emphasis on communal, multigenerational myth and ritual performance with the Enthroned Goddess at its core. The Lady of the Landscape, therefore, throws new and perhaps surprising light on incompletely understood Aegean costuming traditions, and suggests the need for further investigation into costume typology and its relation to the social customs and religious beliefs of the prehistoric Aegean populations.

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CHAPTER THREE

FABRIC PATTERNS AS SYMBOLS OF STATUS IN THE NEAR EAST AND EARLY GREECE

ELEANOR GURALNICK

This essay documents how two neighboring but very different civilizations, the Neo-Assyrian Empire (883-626 B.C.) and ancient Greece (eighth to sixth centuries B.C.), use dress to express diverse identities. The patterns decorating garments represented on monumental sculptures of ancient Assyria play an important role in communicating a highly stratified society. The king has the most elaborately decorated garments, with a few motifs reserved exclusively for his use. On the few occasions when his family is represented, they generally wear garments with simplified versions of the king's motifs. Officials are distinguished from ordinary people by the decorated borders of their garments and various decorated scarves and belts that can be interpreted as insignia of rank. Perhaps most notably, however, the garments of gods and genies are comparable to those of officials rather than kings, and they lack any indication of rank other than simple patterned borders. In order to emphasize the specific ways in which dress communicated and strengthened the social order in Assyria, several examples will be presented from each of the reigns for which evidence is preserved. In contrast to the situation in Assyria, in eighth and seventh century B.C. Greece, mythological persons and deities are represented wearing elaborately decorated garments. The decorative motifs are often the same as or simple modifications of those seen both contemporaneously and earlier in the Near East. By the sixth century, however, decorative motifs on clothing no longer serve as status symbols in Greece, as clothing no longer distinguishes deities or mythological personages from ordinary people. Thus, although similar decorative motifs are invoked in Assyria and Greece, they identify the wielders of secular power in the Near East, and those with religious/mythological significance in early Greece. These status distinctions terminated with the rise of democratic values in Greece.

Ancient Fabrics and Their Representation

Most ancient fabrics have disintegrated from age, weathering, and the conditions of burial. Thus, there are few actual surviving examples of woven fabrics, and almost none that can be identified with particular individuals of status.[1] Therefore, representations of fabrics or textiles provide the main evidence for the development of ancient patterned fabrics. Such representations survive on wall paintings; stone, bronze, ivory, and clay sculptures and plaques; glazed brick; and painted and molded vases. Actual worked gold garment attachments have been found in graves. These varied sources for representations of patterned garments and attachments provide ample evidence for the patterns which must have been used in ancient times to decorate clothing.

Since any discussion of patterned garments as symbols of status is based almost entirely on representations in art, it is essential to know something about the preservation of images, and it is natural to wonder about the nature of the originals that served as models for the representations. Four major Neo-Assyrian palaces, at Nimrud, Til Barsip, Nineveh, and Khorsabad, survive with representations of kings and others. These representations depict complete, life-size or larger images of five of the many kings who reigned during the Late Assyrian hegemony: Assurnasirpal II, Tiglath Pilesar III, Sargon II, Sennacherib, and Assurbanipal.[2] As the seats of governmental power, these palaces and their decorations served to impress all visitors with the supreme authority on earth of the king and those who implemented his achievements. In this paper, the discussions of the Neo-Assyrian status symbols embodied in garment decorations will rest on the well preserved images surviving from these four palaces. For those palaces and reigns where the evidence survives, the complete hierarchy of recognizable status symbols on garments that distinguish the king, his family, officials, genies, army officers, ordinary citizens, and foreigners will be analyzed. The Greek representations will come from a much more diverse group of smaller

[1] Machteld Mellink, "Textiles," in *Three Great Early Tumuli. Gordion Excavations: Final Reports*, ed. Rodney S. Young, vol. 1 (Philadelphia: University Museum, 1981), 294-310, figs. 144-48, pls. 99B-E, 100-101A-F; Elizabeth Crowfoot, "Textiles from Recent Excavations at Nimrud," *Iraq* 57 (1995): 114-18; Elizabeth J.W. Barber, *Prehistoric Textiles: the Development of Cloth in the Neolithic and Bronze Ages with Special Reference to the Aegean* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991).

[2] Most of the sculptural decoration of other reigns is fragmentary, has disappeared, or remains unpublished. The decorations at Til Barsip are wall paintings.

scale media including painted and relief molded pottery; stone sculpture; statuettes of wood, ivory and clay; and molded plaques. Most are objects of daily, funerary, or votive use. Only the two stone sculptures may have had significance to a larger community, and only one of these is associated with a small public building or temple. Thus, the kinds of representations that can be analyzed for these two neighboring yet distinct civilizations serve very different cultural purposes. The distinctions between the types of surviving images and their cultural uses further highlights the uniqueness of the two civilizations even as borrowings of superficial motifs are made evident.

There is extensive archaeological and literary evidence that for the time period considered here (ca. 883-600 B.C.) the peoples of Mesopotamia and the Eastern Mediterranean had well developed weaving industries of long standing.[3] We can assume that the simpler patterns—stripes, grid patterns and plaids—are woven. A few scraps of fabric survive to illustrate the use of color contrasts in woven patterns.[4] However, complex patterns that would demand more sophisticated weaving skills are regularly seen in representations. Such patterns are the concentric squares, often used as borders. There is no evidence surviving for the ability to weave circles, concentric circles, various elaborations of rosettes and encircled rosettes, nor figure scenes framed with complex geometric, vegetal, and animal compositions. These patterns were probably beyond the skill of ancient weavers, whether in the Near East or Greece, suggesting that they were executed by other techniques. Those that come readily to mind are embroidery, appliqué, dyeing, quilting, and embossing. Embroidery, quilting and appliqué can be achieved by hand sewing with needles and thread. Appliqué, as a decorative technique, does raise the question of the nature of the applied material. Fabric of a contrasting color may be sewn onto the basic garment. There is also ample evidence for garment attachments of gold in royal Assyrian burials. The graves of the queens of Assyria, excavated in 1989 at Nimrud, contained the burial goods of two queens in one grave. The tassels on their garments were embroidered. The garments were decorated with at least seven hundred small gold attachments shaped as rosettes, stars, circles, or

[3] Klass R.Veenhof, "Some Social Effects of Old Assyrian Trade," in *Trade in the Ancient Near East. Papers presented in the XXIII Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, University of Birmingham 5-9 July, 1976,* ed. John David Hawkins, (London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 1977), 109-18; Stephanie Dalley, "Old Babylonian Trade in Textiles at Tell Al Rimah," in Ibid., 155-59; Barber, *Prehistoric Textiles.*

[4] Mellink, 296, pls. 101a-e.

triangles.[5] A large number of banded agate studs bordered with gold granulation were also applied as decoration. Gold and carnelian beads found within the folds of one garment were also probably attachments. These actual finds confirm that the decorations of a garment can be an indication of the high status of its wearer in Assyrian monumental sculpture. Embossing, or impressing a design into a hard material, is generally associated with leather goods or metals. Embossed metal belts were worn in some specific areas of the Near East and in seventh century Greece, and examples survive in the archaeological record.[6] This technique may well have been used for leather armor, and some Assyrian representations of soldiers in battle suggest its use. It is possible that these same representations reflect the use of quilted fabric as armor. There are no tangible remains reported to confirm either of these suppositions.

[5] Joan Oates and David Oates, *Nimrud: An Assyrian Imperial City Revealed* (London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 2001), 83; a few gold rosette attachments were published by Philip E. DeWitt,"The Golden Treasures of Nimrud," *Time,* October 30, 1989, 45; gold jewelry and other grave goods are illustrated in Spencer P.M. Harrington, "Royal Treasures of Nimrud," *Archaeology* 43 (1990): 50-53; for the excavation and many fine color illustrations see Muayad Said Basim Damerji, "Gräber Assyrischer Königinnen aus Nimrud," *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums zu Mainz* 45.1 (1998): 3-19., pls. 52-63; and Muzahem M. Hussein and Amer Suleiman, *Nimrud: A City of Golden Treasures* (Baghdad: Republic of Iraq, Ministry of Culture and Information, Directorate of Antiquities and Heritage, 2000).

[6] Ulf Jantzen, *Samos VIII: Ägyptische und Orientalische Bronzen aus dem Heraion von Samos* (Bonn: Rudolf Habelt Verlag, 1972), 49-53, pls.47-49; Maurits Nanning Van Loon, *Urartian Art* (İstanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut, 1966), 121-24, pls. 30-31; Boris B. Piotrovskii, *Urartu: The Kingdom of Van and its Art* (New York and Washington: Frederick A. Praeger Publishers, 1967), fig. 31; Roland Hampe and Erika Simon, *Birth of Greek Art* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), pls. 345-47, 349-51, 416-19, 422-28, 434, 438, and 463; Eleanor Guralnick, "Greece and the Near East: Art and Archaeology," in *Daidalikon: Studies in Memory of Raymond V. Schoder, S.J.,* ed. Robert F. Sutton, Jr. (Wauconda, IL: Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, 1989), 173-76, pls. 20a-b, fig. 10.

Fig. 3-1 Assurnasirpal II (from Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, pl. 6).

Nimrud - Assurnasirpal II (883-859 B.C.)

The first king of the Late Assyrian period, Assurnasirpal II, built the palace at Nimrud and decorated the walls of all its reception rooms with nearly nine foot tall carved stone revetments. Several subjects were incorporated into the décor. Most were of a religious nature showing winged, protective, supernatural beings or minor deities, generally referred to as genies, arranged in balanced compositions on either side of a stylized tree.[7] There are a few formal court scenes with the king and his courtiers,[8] libation scenes,[9] hunting scenes,[10] battle scenes,[11] and one long composition showing the king several times riding a chariot into battle.[12] King Assurnasirpal is always distinguished from all other persons by wearing an undecorated fez-like hat or crown, shaped like a cut-off cylinder, wrapped in a broad ribbon with long streamers at his back, and topped by a short, pointed central spike. In formal court compositions he wears garments with bodice and sleeves covered with elaborate figural scenes and decorative motifs arranged in panels (Fig. 3-1). His neckline, sleeve, hem, and shawl border are always engraved with decorative acanthus leaves, pine cones, rosettes, and animal and figural scenes.[13] Other scenes show the king himself performing religious rites with protective genies behind him, all facing a stylized tree, occasionally with the symbol of the god Assur hovering over the tree. Sleeves of the garments of genies and officials may have narrow borders with engraved vegetal motifs. Palm trees, acanthus leaves, rosettes, and pine cones are represented. Occasionally, ostrich alternates with acanthus, and there is an example of a 'Master of Animals' with goats. The scenes of hunting or of animal fights might have a symbolic meaning in this context. In a few instances the courtiers' narrow sleeve borders are engraved with the same vegetal motifs and fighting animals that are seen much more prominently

[7] Samuel M. Paley, *King of the World: Ashur-nasir-pal II 883-859 B.C.* (New York: Brooklyn Museum, 1976), pls. 1a-c, 2a, 8, 9-10, 13a-c, 14-15, 17a, 21b; Richard D. Barnett, *Assyrian Palace Reliefs and Their Influence on the Sculptures of Babylonia and Assyria* (London: Batchworth Press, 1960), pls. 3 and 7.

[8] Paley, pl. 19a-c.

[9] Ibid., pl. 18b.

[10] Ibid., pl. 18b; Austen Henry Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh* (London: John Murray, 1853; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2004), pls. 10-12.

[11] Barnett, pls. 10-12, 20, 23; Layard, pls. 13-23, 26-29.

[12] Paley, pl. 18a.

[13] Paley, 103, 107-9, figs. 19b, 23c-25a; Jeanny Vorys Canby, "Decorated Garments in Ashurnasirpal's Sculpture," *Iraq* 33 (1971): 31-53; Layard, pls. 5-6, 8-9; Oates and Oates, fig. 30.

on the king's bodice.[14] The variety and complexity of these motifs implies that they are embroidered or applied to the garment. After all, the garments and hem tassels of the Assyrian queens from Nimrud were embroidered with fine needlework.[15] For the most part, the hems of the genies' fringed garments are bordered with a pattern of concentric squares, sometimes enclosing a simple eight-petaled rosette.[16] Soldiers wear undecorated armor.

Thus in the Neo-Assyrian period, it appears that the king actively uses adornment to express his elevated position within this highly stratified society. The sheer quantity of complex, embroidered decoration symbolizes the power of the king as the first in the hierarchy, and of his officials as less significant implementers of his power. The status of the other figures represented is particularly clear from compositions like one with the king seated at the center facing an official and a genie, with an official and a mace bearing guard behind him.[17] In this slab it is obvious that the elaboration of garment decoration symbolizes unequal power relationships. Highest status is accorded the enthroned king at the center of the composition wearing the most ornately decorated garment. Next in complexity are the decorations of the two framing officials, those closest to the king. Simplest in decoration are those of the genie and guard, the farthest from the king. The genies have subordinate power and status. Their role is to support and protect the king. All other individuals are of little importance in the power structure. They are shown in battle scenes as unranked soldiers.

Assurnasirpal II is invariably shown in battle scenes, and in a few more formal scenes, wearing an apron decorated with concentric hexagons below his waist across his lower back.[18] In a single libation scene the crown prince faces the king and wears the same rear apron with concentric hexagons. Surely this added decorative garment is protective, and not a simple woven pattern. However, it is a garment worn only by the king, symbolic of his status, with the single exception of his son.

[14] Paley, pls. 23c, 24a-25a; Layard, 13, pls. 43-50.
[15] Oates and Oates, 83.
[16] Layard, pl. 37.
[17] Ibid., pl. 5; Paley, pl. 19b.
[18] Layard, pls. 20, 23, 31-32; Paley, pl. 18b.

Til Barsip – Tiglath Pilesar III and Sargon II (745-705 B.C.)

The palace at Til Barsip on the Euphrates River is decorated exclusively with very well preserved wall paintings. The bright colors and reasonably well preserved compositions were recorded by means of full-scale colored drawings.[19] These wall paintings provide a more detailed picture of Late Assyrian fabric patterns than the carved representations. There is no evidence in monumental sculpture for the kind of detail the wall paintings show, although the sculptures may have lost some original painted details. It is possible that wall paintings, a different medium, may reflect a different set of artistic conventions. The variety of fabric patterns suggest the walls were painted in the reigns of several kings: Tiglath Pilesar III, Sargon II, and possibly Sennacherib.[20] Fine black outlines define nearly all the representations and decorations. One painting shows King Tiglath Pilesar III (745-727 B.C.) in his chariot, hunting lions.[21] The chariot is completely covered with a decoration of small red grid squares, each enclosing a small red circle. His white quiver has three broad bands decorated with an identical pattern as the chariot. The king's white garment is covered with black circles enclosing red circles, and a broad collar diagonally striped in red and white. His shirt sleeves and cloak have bands with the same pattern and color as the chariot and quiver. The figure is unmistakably the king because he wears the royal crown, including a broad red dangling ribbon with a red and blue fringed end. His garment fringes alternate white, red, and blue. The hunt suggests that the garment is protective. It may represent quilting, embossed and dyed leather, metal attachments, or some combination of these techniques. The concentric

[19] The full-scale colored drawings were made by Lucien Cavro, the architect for the excavation. The complete set of drawings measures more than 100 meters in length. The drawings are housed in the Louvre Museum in Paris. Surviving original paintings are now in both the Louvre and Aleppo Museums. Further details regarding the creation of the paintings can be found in Pauline Albenda, *Ornamental Wall Paintings in the Art of the Assyrian Empire* (Leiden and Boston: Brill/Styx, 2005), 33-34. Several original paintings and some of the drawings are reproduced in color in Andre Parrot, *The Arts of Assyria* (New York: Golden Press, 1961). The original publication of the excavation and wall paintings may be found in François Thureau-Dangin and Maurice Dunand, *Til-Barsib* (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1936). Specific references will be presented as needed to illustrate the discussion.
[20] Albenda, *Ornamental Wall Painting*, 69-74.
[21] Parrot, 268-69, fig. 345.

circles may be a purely symbolic design announcing the invincibility of the wearer, the most powerful person in this world.

An enthroned king, possibly Sargon II (721-705 B.C.), wears a white garment decorated with red and blue checkerboard borders over a garment with an overall pattern of concentric squares – a black outlined blue square enclosing a red square, with fragmentary central white architectural representations. Three distinctive checkerboard patterns cover the two fabric throws over the back of the throne and the throw that covers the throne seat.[22] A helmeted officer killing an enemy who pleads for mercy must be someone of high rank, perhaps a royal prince.[23] His garment patterns convey his special status. They consist of a white shirt with central-dotted, black circles; a red, diagonal band of office supports a scabbard decorated with central-dotted, black circles; and a colorful belt has diagonal plaid in red, black and white. His kilt has a fine grid pattern in black over a white ground. Knee-high, red-laced, red-heeled, blue boots are worn over thigh-high stockings horizontally striped in red and blue.

Several elaborately garbed genies are known from Til Barsip. A kneeling, two-winged genie wears a white garment with a red plaid pattern. Sets of four vertical and four horizontal red lines intersect, creating the plaid pattern on a white background. The hems are bordered with a fine red grid, and elaborate fringes alternate red and white. A second winged genie holding a bull wears a garment combining an overall pattern of red and blue concentric hexagons with blue fringe and red and blue checkerboard borders.[24] A third winged genie wears a garment entirely patterned with black outlined red and blue checkerboard. His kilt fringe alternates red and blue, and he wears matching colorful sandals.[25] The genies of Til Barsip are the most elaborately garbed genies in all of Assyrian art. Only here do their garments seem to rival those of the king.[26]

Ordinary Assyrians are generally represented wearing plain, undecorated garments in solid colors.[27] Officers or high officials wear simple black and white grid patterned clothing.[28] The officers wear

[22] Ibid., 214, fig. 266.
[23] Ibid., 106-7, figs. 115-16.
[24] Ibid., 100, fig. 109.
[25] Ibid., 101, fig. 110.
[26] Til Barsip is in Syria, an area conquered by the Assyrians. The palace served as a regional administrative center for a conquered province. The need to persuade local subjects of the overwhelming power of both the Assyrian gods and king may have led to the emphatic decorations of the clothing of the genies.
[27] Parrot, 108-11, 277-78, figs. 118-20, 348.
[28] Ibid., 102-5, 214, figs. 111-14, 266.

diagonal bands of office across their chests. An officer has a white-outlined and dotted red band.[29] A second wears a light blue band that has a row of white zigzag outlined in black along each of its two long edges to support his quiver, sword and scabbard.[30] A third officer has a band decorated with a white rosette outlined in black.[31] Another officer wears a pale blue, diagonal chest band outlined with narrow white stripes at the two long edges, and covered with an organized pattern of white circles.[32] Their belts have elaborate patterns of squares and rectangles in red, white and blue. In contrast to the Assyrians, the captives and the enemy are generally shown wearing clothing with simple broad color stripes, or panels of solid color.[33]

All of this suggests that the nuances of dress in Assyrian society expressed social hierarchies. It is easy to distinguish the courtiers from the king, officers from ordinary soldiers, and foreigners from the Assyrians. The entire hierarchy is expressed in the wall paintings from Til Barsip in the most direct and intelligible way, although the genies of Til Barsip are elaborately dressed, in contrast to the apparent simplicity of carved genies.

The carved walls of the palaces in the heartland do not retain much of the color that possibly enlivened their surfaces. At Khorsabad alone there are some remains of color, with a very little surviving at Nineveh, and none at Nimrud. If color has been lost, then we may have lost a few status identifiers from the palace sculptures.

Khorsabad – Sargon II (721-705 B.C.)

Sargon II built his palace at Khorsabad, and decorated all the formal reception rooms with painted carved stone. The sculptural decoration of the palace was drawn and published at the time of its excavation.[34] The original drawings by Eugene Flandin were discovered and published quite recently.[35] This is fortunate, as much of the sculpture was lost in a

[29] Ibid., unnumbered page, fig. 1.
[30] Ibid., 107, fig. 117.
[31] Ibid., 276, fig. 347.
[32] Ibid., XVII.
[33] Ibid., 107, 268, figs. 116-17 and 344.
[34] Paul Emile Botta and Eugene Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, vols. 1-2 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1849).
[35] Pauline Albenda, *The Palace of Sargon, King of Assyria* (Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1986).

shipwreck. Sargon is always shown wearing two garments.[36] His undergarment is ruled with a square grid, and generally these squares frame a small rosette.[37] The red painted over-garment has a scatter of engraved, unpainted, large rosettes composed of a central circle surrounded by eight petals, with an outer enclosing circle of sixteen petals. These will be referred to here as "doubled rosettes." The garment edge has a narrow border divided into concentric squares, each enclosing a simple eight-petal rosette. His crown, a tapered cut-off cylinder with painted spike at the top, is painted red and has three registers of rosettes. The upper two registers have large doubled rosettes, while those of the lowest border are very large, doubled, and with concentric circles enclosing the center and separating the two ranges of petals. These will be referred to here as the "royal rosette." From the crown falls a broad red ribbon with fringed end that reaches to his waist. The crown prince, often shown facing the king, wears a garment comparable to that of an ordinary courtier except that it has a triple border of concentric squares enclosing simple eight petal rosettes. However, he wears a red headband around his head, decorated with large doubled rosettes, like those on the king's outer garment, with a ribbon that falls almost to his waist. The royal and doubled rosettes that decorate the king's crown and the doubled rosettes of the crown prince's headband, as well as the multitude of doubled rosettes engraved on the king's outer garment most likely represent gold attachments. It may also be true of the simpler rosettes within the concentric squares of his undergarment. Among the many gold ornaments found in the graves of the Assyrian queens are gold rosette attachments and a woven gold headband with a dangling gold ribbon and fringe.[38] The headband has a central decoration inlaid with semi-precious stone and several inlaid complex rosettes. Notably, one of these graves is that of Sargon's queen.

At Khorsabad there are several representations of processions approaching the king. In a procession proceeding towards the entrance to a reception room at the rear of the palace, officials close to Sargon wear garments with borders patterned with three rows of concentric squares.[39] The officials placed more distantly from the king have borders with double rows of concentric squares enclosing rosettes.[40] Others at a still greater distance from the king have borders composed of two rows of squares,

[36] *Le Musée du Louvre. Encyclopédie Photographique de l'Art*, vol. 5 (Paris: Editions Tel, 1936), pl. 311.
[37] Albenda, *Palace of Sargon*, pls. 44-45, 70, 81; figs. 61-62, 81.
[38] Damerji, pl. 25.
[39] *Encyclopédie Photographique*, pls. 312-13.
[40] Ibid., pl. 314.

alternating between concentric squares and squares with central rosettes.[41] In a second procession approaching the entrance of the throne room, those closest to the king, the officials of the first three referenced plates, wear a diagonal red sash over the chest.[42] These sashes were revealed recently when the slabs were cleaned for reinstallation. It is not known whether all of the figures in the other referenced plates wear the red sash because the slabs of figures 41-44 are in the Iraq Museum in Baghdad. Still, we can see a clear relationship between status and garment decorations. The representation of the king, at the entrance to his throne room, does not survive. The early drawings record him dressed as Sargon above.[43] He wears the most elaborate garments depicted in the procession. At the head of this procession facing toward the king is the surviving crown prince wearing a red headband with doubled rosettes and a waist length red ribbon with fringed end. His garment has doubled borders of concentric squares alternating with squares framing rosettes. The following figure has no headdress, but identical borders alternating concentric squares and rosette filled squares. The following two officials have triple banded borders at the chest composed exclusively of concentric squares. All the other officials in the procession have similar double banded borders. Thus, as at the palace of Nimrud, there is a descending order of complexity in garment decoration as distance from the king increases, indicating a descending status for the officials. The small distinctions in garment décor are the only thing that distinguishes these figures from one another. In every case where rosettes decorate border squares, they are simple, eight petal rosettes of a design that is easily distinguished from the large doubled rosettes and the very large, concentrically-encircled, doubled rosettes, or royal rosettes, that seem to be exclusively reserved for the king.

Mythological hero figures and genies protected many entranceways in the city and palace complex. The figure strangling a lion at the main entrance to the palace has a distinctive hair style with three large curls above each shoulder. He wears a knee length kilt, decorated at its horizontal and vertical hems with fringes and single rows of concentric squares.[44] Some of the genies wear the short kilt under a long garment, fringed and bordered with single rows of concentric squares framing

[41] Ibid., pl. 315.
[42] Gordon Loud, *Khorsabad*, vol. 1(Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936), 31-37, pls. 38-44.
[43] Botta and Flandin, pls. 7, 14, 30
[44] Parrot, 32, figs. 36, 38

rosettes.[45] Other genies wearing the same two garments have hems bordered with two rows of squares filled alternately with concentric squares and rosettes, and of course, the ubiquitous fringe. In no case are their garments decorated except at the borders. This confirms that at Sargon's palace not even genies and heroes dress as elaborately as the king. In no case do these or any other significant figures wear the large royal rosette that is reserved for the ruler. Rather, as demonstrated by their dress, they exercised their power through their support and protection of the king.

Nineveh – Sennacherib (704-681 B.C.)

Sennacherib, son of Sargon II, rebuilt and decorated the palace at Nineveh. Large carved stones lined all the major rooms of this palace illustrating the major achievements of his reign. The king is shown multiple times, receiving the spoils of battle, in his chariot under a sunshade, overseeing the bringing of the huge stones to decorate his palace, and after lion hunts. He is consistently represented wearing more elaborately engraved clothing than his father. Enthroned receiving the spoils after the defeat of Lachish he wears a garment decorated with multiple concentric circles with central dot.[46] In his parade chariot, Sennacherib is always protected by a sunshade with broad rear hanging ribbon enhanced with organized registers of patterns, mainly circles, concentric circles with central dot, and rosettes.[47] The sunshades have varied composition, but the motifs are always limited to the same few royal patterns, rosettes, dotted circles and multiple concentric circles with central dot. His crown has the royal rosette. A few examples survive showing military officers wearing diagonal ribbons with unique insignia to support their quivers,[48] comparable to those of the wall paintings at Til Barsip above.

[45] Ibid., 32, fig. 37.
[46] Barnett, pl. 47
[47] Paolo Matthiae, *Ninive* (Milan: Electa, 1998), 184.
[48] Barnett, pls. 51, 53.

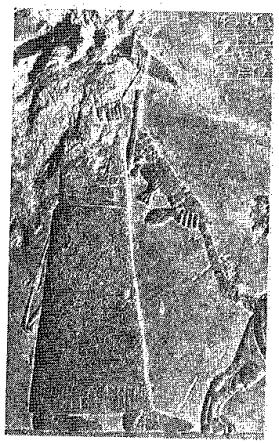

Fig. 3-2 Assurbanipal holding a lion's tail. British Museum, London. Author's photograph.

Fig. 3-3 Assurbanipal hunting on horseback. British Museum, London. Author's photograph.

Nineveh – Assurbanipal (668-631 B.C.)

Several reliefs show Sennacherib's grandson, Assurbanipal, wearing a long gown featuring alternating rows of multiple concentric circles and rows of encircled rosettes that twist diagonally about his body.[49] For example, in scenes where he holds the tail of a dead lion he wears this garment (Fig. 3-2). When hunting lions on foot, he sometimes is shown in a simple gown completely covered in encircled rosettes.[50] The challenge involved in weaving such elaborate designs suggests that the patterns represent metal attachments, probably of gold, sewn onto the garment. Assurbanipal's hunting costume is usually a short gown decorated with large encircled rosettes (Fig. 3-3).[51] His hunting shirt always has below the neckline an embroidered figure scene framed by two very large complexly conceived royal rosettes. The scene always shows the king to the left and right of a stylized tree (Fig. 3-4).[52] This is the first time that a scene is included in garment decoration since the time of Assurnasirpal II. His somewhat elongated crown has the pointed spike, three decorated bands, two of doubled rosettes, with royal rosettes on the bottom band, and fringed ribbons falling down his back.[53] At leisure and while hunting he wears only a royal rosette decorated headband with long trailing ribbons.[54]

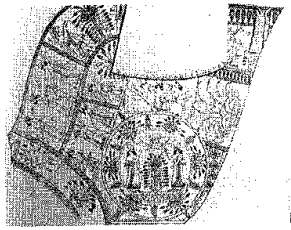

Fig 3-4 Assurbanipal hunting shirt. Detail from object no. 124867. Courtesy British Museum, London.

[49] Ibid., pls. 65, 97.
[50] Ibid., pl. 91.
[51] Ibid., pls. 83-84, 89.
[52] Ibid., pls. 65, 83-84, 89.
[53] Ibid., pls. 60-61, 63, 65.
[54] Ibid., pls. 83-84, 89, 105.

In a garden scene Assurbanipal wears a gown decorated with concentric circles, while his queen wears simple circle decorations on hers, as well as a crown with a wide decorated border.[55] In the Nimrud graves of the queens a gold crown was found that repeats the shape of the carved crown. It is composed of elaborate floral rosettes, several four winged genies, decorated round globes, and grape leaves, all in gold, and clusters of lapis lazuli grapes.[56] This seems to confirm that some details carved in stone replicate high status objects in gold. In a chariot scene Assurbanipal is accompanied by two short persons. Both wear elaborately checkered garments. The bearded chariot driver has dotted concentric circles decorating his sleeves. The beardless younger boy also has rows of small centrally dotted circles on his garment.[57] The king's bodyguards, on foot, have linear, double-outlined-square patterned borders on theirs.[58] Once again one sees the role of adornment in the active construction of the social order. The concentric circles, dotted circle, and circle, apparently reserved for the king and the royal family, suggest the two short persons may be the king's young sons. The very large, royal rosette continues to be reserved exclusively for the king. In his chariot, and sometimes on foot, Assurbanipal has a sunshade decorated with both large rosettes and dotted concentric circles organized in rows.

Summary of Neo-Assyrian Patterned Garments

The garments reserved exclusively for the king are decorated with figural scenes showing the king twice on either side of a stylized tree, multiple concentric circles with central dot, doubled rosettes, and royal rosettes. It would appear that these motifs are symbolic of the king's high status in the material world. The king always wears a head covering with an upwardly tapered, but cut-off cylindrical shape, topped with a pointed spike, wrapped in a long ribbon that flows down his back to the waist. From the time of Sargon II on, this crown has three registers of rosettes. The royal rosette always decorates the lower register of the headband. One motif, the doubled rosette, was used by both the king and the crown prince. It decorates the headpiece of the long ribbon worn by the crown prince. From the earliest carved representations, ca. 1300 B.C., circles

[55] Ibid., pl. 105
[56] Damerji, pls. 42-45; Kathleen Rachel Maxwell-Hyslop, *Western Asiatic Jewelry c. 3000-612 B.C.* (London: Methuen, 1971).
[57] Eleanor Guralnick, "Neo-Assyrian Patterned Fabrics," *Iraq* 66 (2004), fig. 230; *Encyclopédie Photographique*, 2: 12, pl. C.
[58] *Encyclopédie Photographique*, 2: 11, pl. B.

with central dot are associated with Mesopotamian royalty. In later periods simple and dotted circles may indicate members of the royal family, as discussed for the time of Assurbanipal. The elaborate decoration of royal garments in monumental sculpture is particularly interesting when contrasted with the relatively simple garments depicted on protective genies or mythic figures in all Late Assyrian reigns. Guarding the entranceways of the city and the palace, they are generally dressed as if ordinary courtiers, or in a short kilt and long cloak. Their garments have single or, at most, double borders, with simple concentric squares, only occasionally enclosing simple eight petal rosettes. In every reign for which there is carved evidence we have seen that officials seem to have garment decorations that are at least comparable to or more complex than those of deities and mythic figures. This suggests that garment decorations incorporate a systematic symbolism of status in the material world. Kings rule! Officials exercise his power, and the gods and genies support and protect him. The many engraved garment decorations incorporating scenes of the king seen to the left and right of the stylized tree seem to imply that the king derives his power from the natural forces controlled by the gods. Power and material wealth have been given to the king by the gods and their representatives. The king controls all worldly goods and power on behalf of the gods, and at their discretion. He, therefore, needs symbols of status in order to carry out the will of the gods in a secular world. The king, identified by his symbolic garment decorations, rules by divine right, while the deities remain large, present, and modestly dressed, but with an ultimate power so all encompassing and universally recognized that it does not need status symbols.

Lesser individuals, such as courtiers and officers, are sometimes shown with a diagonal sash over the chest indicating rank. Ordinary Assyrian people generally wear entirely plain clothing. In contrast, foreigners are identified by the uniquely patterned clothing typical of their home region. It seems unquestionable that the patterns represented on garments are intended to identify individuals, and their rank and status. While we have no inscriptional evidence to confirm with certainty the significance of the motifs represented on garments, we can associate several specific patterns with the royal family exclusively, one pattern shared by the king and the crown prince, and two patterns retained by the king alone. This suggests that these few patterns had symbolic significance in Assyria, possibly as an expression of the inscriptional titles of the king. Certainly, centrally-dotted circles, centrally-dotted, concentric circles, and the combination of the doubled rosette and concentric circles of the royal rosette on the Assyrian kings' crowns can be interpreted as symbolic of his status. The

titles of the king in inscriptions include some or all of the following: *King of the Universe; King of the World; King of Assyria; King of Sumer and Akkad; Governor of Babylon;* and *King of the Four Corners (of the world)*. The concentric circles may be symbolic of the several titles, which by their nature suggest the power of the king over the entire and perfect world. The central dot may be the king himself controlling all around him. The dotted circle may suggest *Governor of Babylon*, the place where that symbol first appeared on royal garments. Or it may simply suggest royal rather than kingly status. The concentric squares may, less persuasively, imply *King of the four corners* (of the world). The entire panoply of six titles may be symbolized in the hexagonal pattern associated with Assurnasirpal II and Tiglath Pilesar III. Whether or not these associations reflect ancient understanding or are artifacts of modern interpretation, a social hierarchy with the king clearly at the very top can be associated with the several motifs regularly seen.

Introduction to Early Greek Patterned Fabrics

The Troy of the *Iliad* is on the Anatolian coast of the Aegean. Homer tells us that when the Trojan women wanted to give the goddess Athena a gift to preserve her loyalty they gave her a gown belonging to the Trojan queen, Hekabe, "made by Sidonian women [...] that which was the loveliest in design and the largest, and shone like a star."[59] This passage suggests that a Trojan queen could own so fine and high status a garment that even a Greek goddess would value it as out of the ordinary. The passage specifies that the gown was made in Phoenician Sidon; a city that the Assyrian annals tell us was under Assyrian rule for much of the late eighth century B.C., as well as the seventh. A scene related to the one described by Homer above is illustrated on a molded vase showing Hekabe and Trojan maidens bringing a folded gown as a gift to Athena (Fig. 3-7). It will be discussed below.

While no examples of imported patterned fabrics dating to the eighth and seventh centuries, B.C. survive in Greek lands, archaeological evidence confirms that depictions of Near Eastern fabric patterns were imported into Greece. Among these are several representations on two groups of Near Eastern bronzes and four incised tridacna shells illustrating a range of fabric patterns on shirts and cloaks, evidence that at least a few Greeks had knowledge of Near Eastern patterned fabrics from

[59] Richmond Lattimore, trans., *The Iliad of Homer* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), 1. 289-95.

representations on imported artifacts. A bronze relief excavated at the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia, probably made in North Syria, has a multitude of Near Eastern figural scenes. From this group of bronzes there is a procession of four horsemen. Their shirts are all inscribed with what appears to be square or rectangular grid patterns.[60] Another scene shows six men wearing plaid shirts herding three bulls.[61] Each of the shirts has a unique plaid pattern. Basically all are variations on the plaid seen on the genie of Tiglath Pilesar III. Another scene has four men walking in a procession, each wearing an Assyrian style garment decorated with neatly distributed simple circles.[62] An unrelated bronze relief, from Olympia, depicts a similarly dressed man whose garment is also decorated with simple circles.[63] These representations are reminiscent of the garment décor worn by Assurbanipal's queen.

From Samos, Rhodes, Delphi, Lindos and other Greek sites, and from Bayrakli and Izmir on Anatolia's west coast, engraved tridacna shells have been excavated. These large shells, tridacna squamosa, are found in the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea; incised with elaborate patterns most likely in Phoenicia; they were traded around the civilized world. Other examples have been excavated from the Near East, and from Greek cities around the Mediterranean including Naucratis in Egypt and Cyrene in Libya. The engraved decoration transforms the umbo into a human head, and the exterior of the shell into a widespread cloak. Some examples from Samos[64] and Lindos[65] compare with the example from Assyrian Assur[66] in that the cloak is decorated with a pattern of concentric squares, the same pattern already seen a number of times on Assyrian garments. There is an example from Bayrakli, with the concentric square pattern.[67] One example, Samos no. 55, has a plaid pattern in addition to the concentric squares. Certainly, a few Greeks did have unequivocal examples of the Near

[60] Brigitte Borrell and Dessa Rittig, *Orientalische und Griechische Bronzereliefs aus Olympia: Der fundcomplex aus Brunnen 17. Olympische Forschungen,* XXVI (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1998), pl. 8; Eleanor Guralnick, "A Group of Near Eastern Bronzes from Olympia," *American Journal of Archaeology* 108 (2004): fig. 16.
[61] Borrell and Rittig, pls. 3, 14.1; Guralnick, Ibid., figs. 1, 3, 16.
[62] Borrell and Rittig, pls.1-2, 5, 7.4, 9, 24; Guralnick, Ibid., figs. 5, 9.
[63] Pierre Demargne, *Birth of Greek Art* (New York: Golden Press, 1964), 328, fig. 422.
[64] Rolf A. Stucky, "The Engraved Tridacna Shells," *Dédalo* 19 (1974): 43, nos. 55, 61, pls. 34, 38.
[65] Ibid., 38, no. 41, 49, no. 46, pls. 26, 30.
[66] Ibid., 22, no. 1, pl. 1.
[67] Ibid., 36, no. 37, pl. 22.

Eastern fabric patterns on imported bronze and shell to provide models for their own woven fabrics. Moreover, there can be little doubt that the goods traded between Greece and the Near East included fabrics that have not survived. These would have provided still more persuasive models for Greek artisans. The ubiquitous appearance of Near Eastern motifs in seventh century B.C. art has led to the hundred year old convention of identifying that century in Greece as the Orientalizing Period, and Greek art of that century as Orientalizing Art.

Fig 3-5 Funeral scene from Attic Late Geometric Ib Crater no. 1914 (14.130.14). Courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Geometric Period Patterned Fabrics (Eighth Century B.C.)

Art provides evidence that Greeks used similar fabric patterns to those of the Near East. Late eighth century Greek Geometric vases, which date to the same period as the Homeric tale regarding the gown of Queen Hekabe, often show funeral biers draped in plaid or checkerboard patterned cloth that is comparable to patterns seen in wall paintings from the contemporary palace of Tiglath Pilesar III at Til Barsip. The plaid garment worn by an Assyrian genie may be compared with a plaid shroud in a Greek mourning scene (Fig. 3-5).[68] This earliest example of an imported pattern is modified from the standard Assyrian rendition. The Greek plaid is executed in a diagonal orientation. In this sense it reflects

[68] Bernhard Schweitzer, *Greek Geometric Art* (London: Phaidon, 1971), pls. 40-41; John Boardman, *Early Greek Vase Painting* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1998), fig. 47; Demargne, 291, fig. 378.

the diagonal orientation of the patterns on the garment of the Neo-Hittite King Warpalawas,[69] and of the diagonally placed grid designs of the garments on many Syrian ivories from Nimrud.[70] The colorful checkerboard patterns of the Til Barsip wall paintings may be compared with other Greek scenes of mourning with checkerboard shrouds and backdrops.[71] Another Geometric vase shows a mythic scene with Ariadne or Helen dressed in a garment with the same diagonal grid pattern that is carved on Syrian ivories. There are many examples of this pattern on the clothing of mythic personalities and deities.[72] There are also examples of garments with the Assyrian grid pattern and variations,[73] with checkerboard pattern,[74] and with uniquely Greek decorations such as dots, triangles, and swirls.[75]

Orientalizing Period Patterned Fabrics (Seventh Century B.C.)

Seventh century Greek art illustrates deities and mythical characters in elaborate garments. The identity of the illustrated persons can be recognized from their compositional contexts, which often are illustrative scenes from Greek mythology. A stone statue of a seated figure from the Temple of Athena at Gortyn on Crete is partially preserved from the waist to the hem of the skirt (Fig. 3-6). Greek swirls decorate the remains of the belt at the waist. At the sides of the skirt are columns of carved guilloche, a Near Eastern pattern, emphasized with red paint. The front of the skirt has two vertical columns of carved circles surrounding rosettes with six petals. The spaces within the circles are painted red, emphasizing the circular shape of the design while silhouetting the rosette. Between the columns of encircled rosettes are two additional columns of carved décor composed of back to back semicircles with palmettes growing from the

[69] Ekrem Akurgal, *Hittite Art* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1966), pl. 140.
[70] Max Mallowan and Georgina Herrmann, *Furniture from SW.7 Fort Shalmaneser* (London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 1973), pls. 15-18, 20-21, 24-27, 32-33, 40-45, 89-90; Georgina Herrmann, *Ivories from Room SW 37 Fort Shalmaneser* 4.2 (London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 1986), pls. 163, nos. 659-60.
[71] Schweitzer, pls. 39-40, 35-36, 30-31, 40-41, and 44; Boardman, figs. 44-47; Demargne, figs. 377-78.
[72] Schweitzer, pls. 47, 49-51; Boardman, figs. 67, 84, 106.2, 196, 214.
[73] Boardman, figs. 106.2, 146.2
[74] Ibid., fig. 214.
[75] Ibid., figs. 102.2, 188.1-3, 189, 207.1, 235.

flat sides. The design shape is emphasized with red silhouetting the vegetation.

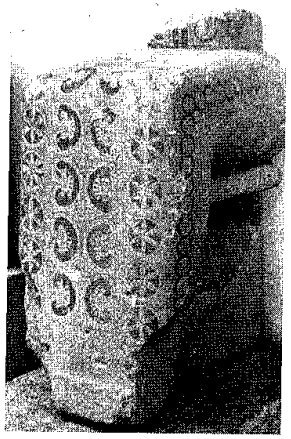

Fig 3-6 Statue of a seated figure from a temple at Gortyn. Herakleion Museum. Author's photograph.

This pattern is a Greek variation of a Near Eastern paneled palmette which is always shown as a single palmette placed upright as its plant model grew. Actually, all three patterns are adaptations from Near Eastern originals. For instance, the encircled rosette has six petals rather than eight; and the guilloche is used as an independent vertical decoration, whereas in the Near East it was generally used to border a frieze. The organization of the decorative patterns reflects a Greek aesthetic. The patterns are emphasized with red paint, the only color that survives on Assyrian royal garments and headgear. Decorative patterns that were originally used mainly in secular contexts in the Near East have been adapted to enhance the garments of what may be a Greek cult figure, as this statue may be the cult statue of Athena from the temple in which it was found. We have to assume that whatever significance these motifs may have had in their original home was not transferred along with the designs. At least in this instance the patterns seem to be exclusively decorative. They enhance the appearance of the figure, and reflect the skill of the sculptor and the wealth of the community that paid for it. The

motivating forces in Greece seem totally different from those prompting artists in the Near East.

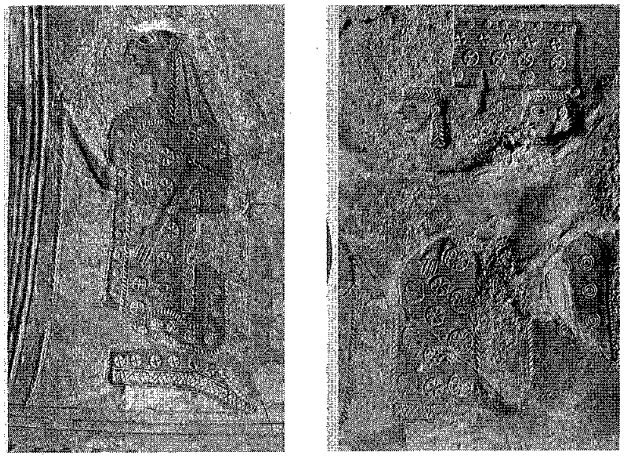

Fig. 3-7a-b Hekabe and her maid-servants bringing the robe-offering to Athena. No. 99.506. Courtesy Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

A series of very large seventh century, B.C. amphorai are decorated with relief scenes. One illustrates the episode of the Homeric tale quoted above. Queen Hekabe (left) leads a procession of two young girls carrying the decorated chest containing the gift robe to Athena (Figs. 3-7a-b).[76] Hekabe's garments are stamp-decorated with five different types of rosettes, plus small panels with guilloche. Three of the rosette types are fairly well related to the Assyrian types, but the other two are variations. One of the girls has impressed circles and three kinds of filling ornament on her skirt, a rosette, something vegetal or perhaps an octopod encircled, and an encircled linear pattern. Multiple concentric circles with central dot exclusively decorate the garment of the second girl. The hem borders of all three garments are alike. They each have the diagonal grid first seen on Syrian ivories, and frequently seen in Geometric Greek fabric representations. The box is decorated with four horizontal rows of circular

[76] Karl Schefold, *Myth and Legend in Early Greek Art* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1966), pls. 30-31.

ornament. Two seem related to elaborate Assyrian rosettes, and two have two sizes of simplified ornament, an encircled 'x'. A vase from Mykonos features what may be an elaborately clothed Leto with her children, Artemis and Apollo.[77] Her garment pattern of diagonal grid with central dot in each diamond adds a feature to the Anatolian diagonal grid fabric patterns. A clay plaque shows Theseus wooing Ariadne, who carries a thread-filled spindle.[78] Her garment is entirely covered with diagonal grid. Theseus wears a kilt covered with squares. A painted version of the same myth shows Ariadne in a dress with a diagonal grid panel at the front of her skirt.[79] Another vase has the same pattern on a veil covering the head and chest of Helen as she is being kidnapped by Menelaus brandishing a sword.[80] Her skirt has a pattern of diagonally connected concentric circles with central dots, bordered at the hem first with a narrow band decorated with simple small circles, and with a second broad band of rosettes enclosed in circles. The juxtaposition of such a variety of patterns is entirely new, yet many of the basic patterns, with small modifications, are counterparts to those of the Near East.

Statuettes, plaques, metalwork, and a carved stone kore also have patterns that compare with those attributed to North Syria and Assyria. A wooden female statuette, found in the Heraion of Samos, wears a tall polos, a headdress reserved for goddesses, decorated with rosettes set within squares. Her shawl is decorated with a row of large encircled rosettes. Her skirt has a central vertical panel that grows from an equally broad hem border. Both are filled with a double outlined diagonal grid pattern.[81] This elaborately garbed statuette may be a representation of the goddess Hera. A fine armor back plate is elaborately engraved with animal and figure scenes.[82] There are two processions facing each other, with three persons in each. The group on the right is lead by Apollo playing his lyre. He wears a scarf over his shoulders with a diagonal grid design. Each diamond has a central dot. His skirt is bordered with diagonal hatch marks. Behind him is a woman wearing a bodice entirely covered with small juxtaposed circles. Her skirt has a vertical display of three large rosettes with ten petals in each. The woman behind her wears a bodice of dotted diagonal grid and a skirt with front, back and hem panels with a line of dots in each panel. At the center of the skirt is a column of repeated

[77] Ibid., pl. 12.
[78] Ibid., pl. 27a-b; Demargne, pl. 443; or Hampe and Simon, fig. 122.
[79] Schefold, pls. 27a-b.
[80] Ibid., pl. 35b.
[81] Alan Johnston, *Emergence of Greece* (New York: Elsevier Phaidon, 1976), 35.
[82] Hampe and Simon, 126-27, fig. 196.

diagonally placed, double curved shapes. Approaching from the left is a man with undecorated enveloping cloak with contrasting color hem border and scarf. A figure enveloped in a cloth patterned with the ubiquitous central dot diagonal grid is at his right. The last figure, the man facing Apollo, is dressed in the most elaborate and most original garment. It is entirely covered with horizontal stripes. Each stripe contains a unique decorative pattern including a broad zigzag, diagonal hatch marks, repeated diagonally placed double curved shapes, three stripes with small circles, and one wide stripe with diagonally placed meander design. The combination of Greek with borrowed motifs, juxtaposed in unique ways, suggests that by the middle of the seventh century Greek weavers were applying creativity to the design of fabrics. It may also suggest that needlework, such as embroidery and appliqués, were being used in some original ways. It is an implicit assumption on the part of most scholars that human representations of the seventh century should generally be understood as deities and/or mythological personalities, because nearly all of the scenes painted or impressed on vases can be readily interpreted as illustrations of mythological tales. Figures wearing elaborately decorated garments are invariably identified as such in publications.[83]

Athens (Sixth Century B.C.)

By the sixth century Greeks began decorating vases with scenes from daily life, while continuing the earlier tradition of depicting gods and mythology. At this time, however, it is often impossible to distinguish ordinary people from deities and mythic personalities as all are dressed with equal elaboration. The Greeks addressed this problem by adding written name tags in instances where actions and identifications might not otherwise lead to a correct understanding, and by adding special identifying attributes. The elaborately decorated François vase, signed by Klitias and Ergotimas, has many examples of deities and mythological personalities, each labeled.[84] Other vases illustrate ordinary people elaborately dressed, at the fountain house (Fig. 3-8),[85] weaving,[86]

[83] Schefold, figs. 3, 7, 9-10, 13, 15, 21, 28, and pl. 1; Hampe and Simon, 216, 256, pls. 347, 349-51, 353, 357-58, 435, 438, 441.
[84] Schefold, pls. 46-52.
[85] Gisela M.A. Richter, *Perspective in Greek and Roman Art* (London and New York: Phaidon, 1974), ills. 119-23; Warren G. Moon and Louise Berge, *Greek Vase-Painting in Midwestern Collections* (Chicago: Art Institute, 1980), pl. 3.
[86] Gisela M.A. Richter, *A Handbook of Greek Art* (New York and Oxford: Phaidon, 1959), fig. 447.

mourning,[87] as they pursue their everyday lives[88] in an increasingly democratic society.

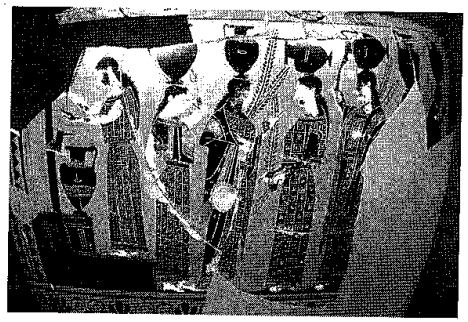

Fig. 3-8 Korai at a fountain house. Courtesy Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

Conclusion

If elite identity was represented by elaborate garment decorations, in Assyria the persons of highest status were kings. Members of the royal family came next in line. Officials of the court followed. Deities and mythological persons were protective, but represented as if subordinate in status to royalty in the monumental sculptures of the palaces. Officers are distinguished from soldiers by the decorated belts and emblematic sashes. Ordinary folk are dressed in simple undecorated garments. The clothing of foreigners identified their homelands and distinguished them from Assyrians. The garment representations formally carved in stone in Neo-Assyrian palaces reinforce the hierarchical nature of Near Eastern society. Here the garment decorations symbolize the status of the wearer in society.

In Greece after the middle of the eighth century the most elaborate fabric representations were reserved for shrouds and backdrops for the dead, perhaps mythic heroes, and women who may also represent mythic

[87] Martin Robertson, *A Shorter History of Greek Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), ill. 54.
[88] Richter, *Greek Art*, fig. 448; Raymond Schoder, S.J., *Masterpieces of Greek Art* (Greenwich, CT: New York Graphic Society, 1965), pl. 15; Ernst Homann-Wedeking, *The Art of Ancient Greece* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1966), pls. pp. 162, 189.

persons. In the art of the seventh century elaborate garments were reserved for easily recognized representations of deities and mythological characters. In the sixth century the vase painters of Athens continued to show gods, goddesses and mythological persons in elaborately patterned clothing. Yet, quite ordinary Greeks were shown wearing equally decorative garments. Therefore, we can conclude that by the sixth century, decorative clothing was no longer a symbol of special status in Greece. With the rise of economic prosperity and democratic ideals, artists felt free to dress all persons represented in art with equal elaboration. If these garment representations reflect the real world, then the message of Athenian archaic korai sculptures and black figure vase painting is that any affluent citizen could choose to dress as elaborately as the gods.[89]

Patterned fabrics appeared in Greek art when contacts and trade with the Near East were on the rise. The representation of pattern woven fabrics in Greece beginning after the mid-eighth century, and decorated garments during the seventh and sixth centuries, may have had roots in the East. Indeed, the Homeric literary tradition implies that the finest patterned fabrics were imported from the Near East. Comparisons of garment representations from the East with those of pre-Classical Greece reveal the adaptive use of many of the same patterns. The range of fabric patterns used at any particular time is a matter of style, competence in weaving, embroidery and appliqué skills. The appearance of Near Eastern patterns is possibly coincidental. Yet, at the very time when Greeks begin to represent patterned fabrics, the patterns illustrated are similar to those seen earlier in the East. Early Greek artists may have begun by incorporating into their repertoire patterns they saw among imported textiles, but their yearning for originality led them to gradually transform the borrowed patterns into something uniquely Greek. By the sixth century, representations of fabric decorations were fully transformed to meet Greek

[89] Gisela M.A. Richter, *Korai* (London and New York: Phaidon, 1968), 3, 14-15, 69-80, 82, and 100-02. Richter's discussion of the nature of the archaic korai statues clearly presents the evidence that most of the Athenian korai are votive offerings that may represent real young women, priestesses, or idealized maidens, rather than images of the goddess. Surviving inscriptions offer a variety of identifications. A kore wearing a beautifully decorated garment was found in an Attic cemetery at Merenda and may have been a grave marker. She is named Phrasikleia, and was made by Aristion of Paros. See E.I. Mastrokostas, "Η κόρη Φρασίκλεια Ἀριστίωνος τοῦ Ραρίου καὶ κοῦρος μαρμάρινος ἀνεκύφθησαν ἐν Μυρρινοῦντι," *Athens Annals of Archaeology* 5 (1972): 298-324, figs. 1-26, cover and color plate III (frontispiece). This contrasts with the initial assumption that korai were images of goddesses.

aesthetic preferences and evolving cultural needs. Yet, basic similarities to underlying Near Eastern patterns remained. Skirts display mythological scenes within horizontal panels. Concentric squares changed their size and placement on the garment. The royal circles were transformed into circular wreaths. Central dots in diagonal or square grids evolved into small floral patterns. Likewise, the relationship of motif to the status of individuals wearing them is, by the sixth century, totally lost. Sixth century garment decorations reflect an affluent Greek society evolving towards democratic equality, where clothing no longer reflected a social hierarchy, at least between the gods and mortal, affluent citizens. Notably, by the early fifth century B.C. after the Persian invasions of Greece, decorated clothing disappears from Greek art rather completely. This change reaffirms the important role that clothing has in constructing and reinforcing ideologies, as the Greeks now began to regard the East with great contempt and to view their clothing and artistic styles as something to be avoided.

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CHAPTER FOUR

GRAVE GARB: ARCHAIC AND CLASSICAL MACEDONIAN FUNERARY COSTUME

ALEXIS Q. CASTOR

Phrasikleia, arguably the most famous Archaic kore, originally stood as a grave marker in the Attic countryside, draped in a red dress, gold crown, and jewelry; the accompanying inscription noted that she died before she could wear this finery on her wedding day. Her family thus chose for her a permanent costume that represented a life stage and identity Phrasikleia never achieved: that of bride. The stone sculpture, whose clothing and ornaments are rendered in such detail, reminds us that a corpse supplies a ready canvas on which the family can create a picture *they* desire to convey to the community as a whole. When selecting burial garments, survivors craft an outfit that serves to identify the deceased as a member of their family, of the community, perhaps in some way relevant specifically for the afterlife, or in a role that was significant to the individual in any of these contexts. Archaeologists who discover the grave millennia later find that most of this clothing has vanished. At best, scraps of metal ornaments that fastened clothing or jewelry that decorated the body attest to the final ensemble. Most Greeks of the Archaic and Classical period, however, refrained from using such ornaments to dress the dead, so even these vestiges of burial garb are denied to us. Exploration in northern Greece begun during the last decades of the twentieth century has demonstrated that the Macedonians, unlike their southern neighbors, may not have marked the grave with elaborate statues like Phrasikleia, but routinely deposited clothing with metallic decoration, metal jewelry, armor, and vessels in the grave.

A steady stream of richly invested graves dating from the tenth to third century B.C. can be documented in Macedonia. These real examples of personal wealth support research into personal adornment and public display with primary evidence, material largely missing elsewhere in

Greece. Jewelry recovered from intact graves supplies not only the crucial chronological and regional evidence with which to update artifact typologies, but also allows us to explore how the dead were decorated for their last, eternal journey.[1] In the Archaic era, females of all ages were draped with gold, amber and glass necklaces, flashy gold earrings, gold and silver pins, bracelets, and rings. This burial *parure* was composed of many types of adornment, fusing highly charged funerary ornaments, such as gold facemasks, with mundane pieces that were worn in life to craft an eternal costume for the dead. The mortuary jewelry of Archaic and Classical Macedonian elite women is the subject of this essay. Its focus is an analysis of the grouping and types of ornaments over these eras, charting a shift from extravagant to moderate display. The sixth century marks an era of profligate expense on female grave costume, leading us to speculate about their familial and community identity as represented in public funerary rituals at this time. A cluster of notably rich graves from Sindos, Pella, and Vergina, for example, combine contemporary styles of jewelry with outmoded pieces, creating a distinctive, perhaps cultic, uniform for these elite females. In subsequent decades, however, the fashion for golden embellishment of the corpse dwindled, and a new, more restrained, style of decorating the dead marks the fifth century. Material culture confirms close, regular contact between northern and southern Greece, but the connections of dress and costume discussed below suggest that these interactions extended to the very personal level of fashion and dress. The individual choices expressed collectively across the region in ornamenting the dead may echo other social changes that allied the Macedonians with their neighbors in southern Greece, specifically the Athenians. Investigation of burial costume in the sixth and fifth century illustrates the potential of jewelry as a document that contributes new insights into social history.

The conspicuous consumption present in sixth-century Macedonian burials can seem profligate in contrast to later evidence from the same region, as burial rituals underwent a significant transition over the course of the fifth century. Macedonian families continued to embellish the body with jewelry and military equipment, but the funeral assemblages are noticeably less abundant, both in the quantity of ornaments, and in the quality of their craftsmanship.[2] Fifth-century jewelry is more often made

[1] Eleni Konstantinidi, *Jewellery Revealed in the Burial Contexts of the Greek Bronze Age* (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports International Series 912, 2001), explores these issues for the Bronze Age.

[2] Bettina Tsigarida, "Fifth-Century BC Jewellery from the Cemeteries of Pydna, Macedonia," in *The Art of the Greek Goldsmith*, ed. Dyfri Williams (London: British Museum Press, 1998), 48-54, and Stella Miller-Collett, "Macedonia and Athens: A Golden Link?" in Ibid., 22-29, have discussed the trend of reduced jewelry in Macedonian graves.

more of silver than of gold, and although standard grave garb still consists of necklace pendants, earrings, and bracelets, far fewer pieces overall decorated the body. While unexpectedly rich Classical cemeteries may yet come to light, four decades of intensive excavation in northern Greece currently substantiate the view of a widespread decrease in luxury goods entombed with the body in the fifth century compared to the sixth.

Cycles of sumptuous and subdued expense on funeral rituals are well attested in the anthropological literature and Ian Morris has argued that the fifth-century Mediterranean world, including Macedonia, represents an era of restraint.[3] The specific causes prompting funerary moderation likely varied widely, but could include legal or social constraints, diversion of elite resources to other public venues, new cultural alliances, or even an economic crisis. Historical and archaeological evidence argues against any widespread economic downturn for Macedonia at this time. The region was thriving in the fifth century, benefiting from copious timber and metal resources, as well as from its prime location at the crossroads joining Asia and Europe.[4] Its Argead rulers alternately collaborated with and distanced themselves from Athens. These high-level political interactions hint at the complicated, but closely intertwined, relations between north and south at the time.[5] Macedonian elites may have redirected their wealth away from

[3] Ian Morris, "Beyond Democracy and Empire: Athenian Art in Context," in *Democracy, Empire, and the Arts in Fifth-Century Athens*, ed. Deborah Boedeker and Kurt Raaflaub (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999), 75-81; Patricia Keswani, *Mortuary Ritual and Society in Bronze Age Cyprus* (London: Equinox Publishing Ltd., 2004), 19-21; Michael Parker Pearson, *The Archaeology of Death and Burial* (College Station, TX: University of Texas Press, 1999), 84.

[4] Eugene Borza, *In the Shadow of Olympus: The Emergence of Macedon* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 135-60.

[5] Prominent Athenians including Peisistratus (Arist.*AP*.15.2) and his son Hippias (Hdt. 5.94) are recorded in the area; Peisistratus may have profited from silver mines in Thrace. Herodotus writes (8.136-40) that the Persians made Alexander I (c. 495-c. 454) their emissary to the Athenians during the second Persian invasion. Alexander was well known to the Athenians and had received public honors of *proxenos* and *euergetes*. Michael Walbank, *Athenian Proxenies of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Toronto and Sarasota, FL: Samuel Stevens, 1978), 65, no. 1. Alexander later provided the ostracized *strategos* Themistokles with sanctuary at Pydna (Thucy. 1.137). His successor Perdiccas II (c. 454-c. 413) warded off several Athenian advances into his territory during the Peloponnesian War, for which, see Benjamin Isaac, *Greek Settlements in Thrace until the Macedonian Conquest* (Leiden: Brill, 1986), 35-59.

costly funeral displays to other public settings, perhaps civic or religious, but so far no material traces, such as building or votive inscriptions, have been recovered to record their generosity. There is little doubt, however, that the preparation of the corpse underwent a diminution of extravagant display at this time.

State of Evidence

Certain limitations govern this analysis of Archaic and Classical Macedonian funerary custom. None of the material discussed below has been presented in a complete, final publication as of yet, however, preliminary reports appear regularly to keep scholars apprised of the exciting discoveries in northern Greece. These initial findings make it possible to offer the analysis given here.[6] Some reports, often of smaller excavations, supply detailed grave inventories; other notices offer a general overview of the cemetery and the artifacts discovered, but lack explicit data concerning individual burials. Few photographs of the artifacts are available, and specific descriptions of jewelry are even scarcer. The disparity in these essential data points makes close comparison of grave assemblages difficult, and broader attempts to assess relative status or wealth are impossible at this time. Richly gifted graves tend to receive more attention than those with fewer offerings, as illustrated in this discussion by the relatively thorough documentation of the Archaic burials in contrast to the summary reports given for Classical cemeteries. Where possible, I have relied upon the most complete publications that inventory the contents of individual burials.[7] Admittedly, the sample of primary evidence that fits within these parameters is small, but limited reports can confirm the general outline of burial practices given below.

A second limiting factor, and one that is especially pertinent for this study, is that the sex of the corpse is assigned usually by the character of grave offerings rather than by study of the physical remains. This initial categorization of male/female burial can lead to assumptions about gender identity that require closer consideration. Graves stocked with earrings, necklaces, and bracelets are labeled as female because such objects are typecast as female, while those containing spearheads or helmets are

[6] See the reports of the annual conference on current work in northern Greece, *To Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και Θράκη* (abbreviated here as: *AEMTh*) as well as the notices provided in the *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* .

[7] I follow the dates assigned to the graves in these initial reports.

characterized as male. Several studies have noted that these broad generalizations of grave goods are misleading or, at the very least, skim over significant nuances.[8] Age, ethnicity, gender, and sex play key roles in determining the dress of the living, where so many signs of social, economic, political, or other identity can be conveyed, for example, by what sort of pin fastens a garment. Gender roles evolve with age, as girls become brides, wives become mothers, and mothers assume changing positions in the household, sacred, or community sphere. A burying group may create, emphasize, or ignore any of these roles, whether the dead woman achieved them or not, as they arrange the body for the grave. The prevalence of valuables in Macedonian graves affirms that costly funerary expenditure resonated as a way to negotiate, reinforce, or create social status within the community. When grieving survivors selected a gold necklace to accompany the dead, did they reach for one that she wore on her wedding day, that she inherited from her mother (or grandmother), or that denoted her membership in a cult or a clan? We can only conjecture how these intangible cultural dynamics played into the adornment of the body, but study of complete assemblages can isolate certain patterns to investigate in more detail. With this caveat in mind, Archaic and Classical Macedonian graves do seem to fall into general categories of male-with-armor or female-with-jewelry burials. In fact, when final publications do appear, Macedonian cemeteries will likely provide much valuable material with which to assess the correlation of grave goods to the identity of the deceased in a rigorous manner. As it stands, certain key aspects of gender identity remain tentative in this study.

Finally, the shortage of historical sources for Macedonia at this time complicates identification of ethnic identities. Although the graves referred to in this essay are labeled Macedonian, the region of northern Greece stretching above Thessaly into the Balkans and east to Asia Minor

[8] Agneta Strömberg, *Male or Female? A Methodological Study of Grave Gifts as Sex-indicators in Iron Age Burials from Athens* (Jonsered: Paul Aströms Förlag, 1993); Paul Treherne, "The Warrior's Beauty: The Masculine Body and Self-identity in Bronze-Age Europe," *Journal of European Archaeology* 3.1 (1995): 105-44; Lynn Meskell, *Archaeologies of Social Life: Age, Sex, Class, et cetera in Ancient Egypt* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999); Elisabeth Arwill-Nordbladh, "A Reigning Queen or the Wife of a King—Only? Gender Politics in the Scandinavian Viking Age," in *Ancient Queens: Archaeological Explorations*, ed. Sarah Nelson (Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press, 2003), 19-40; Melissa Vogel, "Sacred Women in Ancient Peru," in Ibid., 117-36; Aubrey Cannon, "Gender and Agency in Mortuary Fashion," in *Interacting with the Dead: Perspectives on Mortuary Archaeology for the New Millennium*, ed. Gordon F.M. Rakita, *et al.* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2005), 41-65.

was home to widely diverse cultures. By the sixth century, Greek settlements were firmly established in the Chalkidiki and along the Thracian coastline, and the territory was annexed to the Persian Empire in the early fifth century. Some burial practices and artifacts echo those of Thracian elites in the north, while imported Greek pottery supplies visible testimony of exchanges between north, south and the eastern Mediterranean. Macedonian enthusiasm for exotica can make it challenging to identify specifically native practices or products.[9] Similarities in burial rituals and grave goods permit us to categorize, roughly, which regions favored one set of practices over another, but we cannot guarantee that these districts followed ethnic or political lines. The grave goods discussed here are typical of western Macedonia near Aiane, the central plain near the ancient coastline, and a cluster of sites around modern Thessaloniki. Here, the dead were buried customarily with imported Greek pottery, gold and silver jewelry, bronze armor, weapons, and metal vessels. Common funeral equipment and proximity to the well-established Macedonian homeland at Aegae and Pella lead me to label the material presented below as Macedonian.

Although there are, then, significant obstacles to a complete analysis of Macedonian mortuary rituals, the material discovered in the past few decades provides a cohesive body of primary evidence with which to assess jewelry as funerary costume. Now that the cemeteries of northern Greece have furnished this unparalleled source of adornment, we can begin to appreciate fully the relevance of jewelry as a historical document. It is in this framework that the following analysis is offered.

Archaic Burial Rituals

Several Archaic and Classical cemeteries have been discovered in the region of Macedonia outlined above. Particular examples from Sindos, Vergina (ancient Aegae), Pella, and Aiane are detailed below, but confirmatory evidence also comes from large burial grounds discovered at Aghia Paraskevi, Toumba, and other sites nearby.[10] Shared funerary rituals

[9] Meg Butler, "The Warrior, the Citizen, and the Prince: Death-ritual in Northern Greece," *Abstracts of the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America*, 2006, addressed the difficulties in distinguishing "Macedonian" ethnic identity in burial practices. I thank Meg Butler for sharing her thoughts on this problematic subject with me.

[10] Aghia Paraskevi: Kostas Sismanides, "Το Αρχαϊκο Νεκροταφείο της Αγίας Παρασκευής Θεσσαλονίκης. Πρώτη Παρουσίαση και Πρώτες Εκτιμήσεις," in *Αμήτος Τιμητικός Τόμος για Καθηγήτη Μανόλη Ανδρόνικο* (Thessaloniki:

continue in this area from the sixth through the fourth century B.C. Inhumation is customary, with the corpse laid on its back, probably on a wooden bier or in a sarcophagus.[11] Males (as identified by grave goods) usually were interred looking to the east or north, and females facing the west or south, a custom that is noted widely in the archaeological reports. Different head orientation would seem to supply additional objective evidence apart from the grave goods for identifying the sex of the corpse, although at least one exception to the rule has been noted at Pella, where a young female about twenty years old faced north.[12] The argument, however, is circular, since the personal ornaments remain the initial basis on which the grave is identified. During the Archaic period, exterior grave markers are rare; wooden stelae or markers may have stood above the grave, but none survive.[13] At this time, only scattered evidence testifies to post-burial rituals such as funerary feasts or return visits to the grave. Some reports of horse and dog burials indicate that animal sacrifice was occasionally part of the funeral ritual.[14] In general, the tombs indicate that Macedonians devoted their funerary expenditures to the goods placed in

Aristoteleio Panepistimio Thessalonikies, 1987), 787-803; Toumba: Kostas Soueref, " Τούμβα Θεσσαλονίκης 2000 Ανασκαφές στο Αρχαίο Νεκροταφείο," *AEMTh* 14 (2000): 215-25, and Kostas Soueref, "Τούμβα Θεσσαλονικής 2002 το Αρχαίο Νεκροταφείο στην 'Αλάνα,'" *AEMTh* 16 (2002): 277-89; Souroti: Kostas Soueref and Konstantoula Havela, "Σουρωτή 2000," *AEMTh* 14 (2000): 169-78, Kostas Souref and Konstantoula Havela, "Σουρωτή 2002," *AEMTh* 16 (2002): 267-76, and Kostas Soueref and Konstantoula Havela, "Σουρωτή 2004 Ανασκαφές στο Αρχαίο Νεκροταφείο," *AEMTh* 18 (2004): 345-56; Nea Philadelphia: Basiliki Misailidou - Despotidou, "Ανασκαφή στη Νεα Φιλαδέλφια το 1995," *AEMTh* 9 (1995): 311-20; Trapeza Lebet: A. Lioutas, M. Mandaki, and E. Iliopoulou, "Τράπεζα Λεμπέτ. Οι Νεκροπόλεις από τον 6ο μέχρι τον 4ο αι. π.Χ.," *AEMTh* 17 (2003): 299-310.

[11] Cremation is known, although it was not apparently widespread during the Archaic period. Anastasia Chrysostomou and Pavlos Chrysostomou, "Ανασκαφή στη Δυτική Νεκρόπολη του Αρχοντικού κατά το 2004," *AEMTh* 18 (2004): 562-64, for three cremations, including one female cremation, in the West Necropolis at Pella.

[12] Anastasia Chrysostomou and Pavlos Chrysostomou, "Ανασκαφή στη Δυτική Νεκρόπολη του Αρχοντικού Πέλλας κατά το 2002," *AEMTh* 16 (2002): 469.

[13] At Vergina, a group of life-size terracotta heads of males and females was associated with Archaic tumuli; to date, these are unique in an Archaic funerary context. René Ginouvés, *Macedonia: From Philip II to the Roman Conquest* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 28.

[14] Theodoros Antikas and Lynn Wynn-Antikas, "Παθολογικά Ευρήματα σε Σκελετούς Ανθρώπων και Ίππων από Πρόσφατες Ανασκαφές στη Σίνδο και το Πολύκαστρο," *AEMTh* 18 (2004): 95-103.

the grave rather than to exterior markers such as a tumulus or sculpted stele.

Grave gifts were clustered around the body, with clay and metal vessels set near the feet or by the head. Personal jewelry and armor were positioned where they would have been worn in life: earrings on either side of the head, helmets on the head, and so on. While the overall quantity of jewelry can be abundant, the types show up in the expected number of accessories, with one pair—rather than multiple sets—of earrings or bracelets, for example, per grave.[15] This evidence suggests that the objects were worn by the dead, rather than tucked in the grave by their kin as offering gifts. The arrangement and types of jewelry will be discussed in more detail below, but it is worth noting here that gold is the preferred material for the ornaments, with other luxury materials used as adjuncts. Archibald describes a regional preference for gold in the sixth century among Macedonians and Thracians, marking a change from the elaborate bronze jewelry featured in Iron Age burials.[16] Clothing fasteners—both pins and fibulae—are found in male and female graves, and garments apparently were garnished further with sheet gold clothing attachments.

In addition to the jewelry and clothing accessories, bronze vessels of various types are also not uncommon. Lebetes, oinochoai, and phialai are the usual forms discovered, being retrieved most often from graves with other metal goods such as helmets or jewelry. Other typical grave gifts include perfume vessels, which are ubiquitous. Among these, Corinthian exaleiptra were a favorite import, later replaced by Attic containers. Pottery drinking cups and other sympotic equipment, such as hydriai or kraters, also appear sporadically, but were evidently not mandatory. An assortment of imported terracotta figurines of animals, enthroned goddesses, and other female figurines occasionally was buried with the dead. In sum, the graves that supply us with the most complete information about funerary costume also indicate that the Macedonians had access to imported pottery and perfume.

There are three major cemeteries that provide sufficient data for a full discussion of women's mortuary jewelry. Perhaps the best-known Archaic Macedonian cemetery was excavated at Sindos. One hundred and twenty-

[15] In this, the Macedonians differ from their Balkan neighbors, who chose several pairs of earrings to be arranged around the head of the deceased (male and female). See Bogdan Filow, *Die grabhügelnekropole bei Duvanlij in Südbulgarien* (Sofia: Staatsdruckerei, 1934), 88-94.

[16] Zofia Archibald, *The Odrysian Kingdom of Thrace: Orpheus Unmasked* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 71-72.

one burials, mostly simple tile-lined pit-burials, were discovered in the course of a rescue excavation in 1980. About half of these graves survived intact, and finds from thirty or so of the Archaic and Classical graves have been published to date.[17] Military equipment found in the graves consisted of bronze helmets, spears, and swords, clearly establishing a role for the warrior among the elite. The gold ornaments from the Sindos graves first revealed the brilliance of Archaic Macedonian jewelry. The location of the cemetery near the auriferous Gallikos River suggests that the local artisans had ready access to the raw materials necessary for their craft. Ongoing excavations nearby at Archontiko near Pella have yielded about a hundred Archaic graves.[18] Gold jewelry and bronze armor are plentiful in these burials and parallel the types of gifts found at Sindos. At Vergina, a group of six Archaic tumuli dating from 540-420 was uncovered in 1986.[19] Only two burials survived intact; one, a female tomb dating to about 500 that will be discussed below. All six burials were female, each with a single burial beneath a tumulus. To date, this is the only example of a gender-specific group of burials dating to the Archaic period.[20] The discovery of Archaic burials at Aegae, the traditional burying ground of Argeads, connects rich burials with a known ruling clan. These three sites have been reported in the most detail and will supply much of the evidence referred to here.

Undoubtedly, activities that left no archaeological traces also played a role in the burial rituals, especially in a society that so obviously highlighted deposition in the tomb as an occasion for the display of wealth. We must also recall that even the largest cemeteries cannot assure a truly representative sample of funerary practices used by the entire community. The recent history of archaeology in Macedonia itself compels us to keep an open mind. From the evidence currently presented, however, it is possible to describe a general outline of Archaic Macedonian

[17] Julia Vokotopoulou, *et al.*, *Σίνδος Κατάλογος της Έκθεσης* (Athens: Tameio Archaeologikon Poron kai Apallotrioseon, 1985).

[18] See Anastasia Chrysostomou and Pavlos Chrysostomou, "Ανασκαφή στη Δυτική Νεκρόπολη του Αρχοντικού Πέλλας κατά το 2001," *AEMTh* 15 (2001): 477-88; Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou, "Αρχοντικού 2002"; Anastasia Chrysostomou and Pavlos Chrysostomou, "Δυτική Νεκρόπολη του Αρχοντικού Πέλλας Συστάδα Τάφων Αριστοκρατικής Οικογένειας των Αρχαικών Χρόνων," *AEMTh* 17 (2003): 505-16; Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou, "Αρχοντικού 2004."

[19] Angeliki Kottaridi, "Βεργίνα 1997," *AEMTh* 10 (1996): 79-92.

[20] So far, Archaic tumuli have been revealed only at Vergina, and only one other single-sex grave group has been discovered in Macedonia, a mid-fourth century B.C. group of ten males buried beneath a tumulus near the Archaic female graves at Vergina.

funerary practices: imported Greek pottery was favored, particularly perfume containers, with drinking cups or larger vessels represented as well; metal goods were also appropriate for interment. The latter category apparently followed stereotypes of gender representation, with armor equating males and jewelry signifying females. Let us turn now to examine the jewelry that contributed to this gender identity.

Archaic Funerary Costume

An adorned corpse may recreate a costume worn on a special occasion, such as a wedding, a religious festival, or a civic occasion. Alternately, it could represent a mélange of pieces that was never normally worn simultaneously in life. In order to evaluate the costume as a whole, we must first distinguish between ornaments that were intended solely for funerary use and those that were worn in life.[21] There are several ways to assess this question through visual inspection and study of the function of the ornament. Could the bracelet, ring, or pendant found in a grave withstand daily use, or was it a flimsy simulacrum of the real ornament? Such proxy ornaments were used more commonly in the Late Classical and Hellenistic era than during the Archaic period, although two graves at Sindos did contain examples of funerary jewelry.[22] Facsimile jewelry such as this likely indicates emulation of the most lavish graves, presumably by families who could not as readily give up their valuables.

In addition to differences in cost, the function of the decorative accessory can indicate whether the original purpose was suitable only for the grave. Some elements of Macedonian jewelry complexes, specifically the gold facemasks or mouthpieces widely found in the region, can immediately be labeled as funerary. Glimmering facemasks had covered the faces of the dead in Mycenaean Greece, and their use in northern Greece could recall an old-fashioned ritual. The artifacts also associate the Macedonians with contemporary Balkan tribes to the north. There, similar

[21] Traces of wear on gold jewelry could indicate which ornaments were worn in life. Further examination of the artifacts may eventually identify heirloom pieces in some graves, since gold is preserved exceptionally well in comparison to other materials. However, so little rigorous analysis of this aspect of jewelry has been presented to date that it is difficult to incorporate it into general studies of the circulation of luxury goods.

[22] It is possible that cheaper, less impressive ornaments are underreported for the Archaic period.

coverings were placed on the face and chest and could sheath the hands.[23] Sheet gold mouthpieces, usually in the shape of a rhomboid, are predominantly a Macedonian form of funerary costume, and were laid on both male and female corpses. While most mouthpieces were embossed with floral or geometric designs, a few figural scenes are also known.[24] These mouthpieces are the abbreviated versions of the full gold facemasks used in the most lavishly furnished graves.[25]

Eight female burials found at Sindos date to the sixth century and of these, three female burials had full gold facemasks and four contained mouthpieces.[26] The high frequency of these funerary ornaments indicates that they were an essential element of elite burial costume.[27] Two other full facemasks were found in female graves at Pella and at Vergina. Sheet gold mouthpieces or masks do not represent excessive cost, but instead their presence points to an important eschatological significance for golden face coverings in the ritual.[28] Gender apparently did not determine the type of covering used, since both facemasks and mouthpieces are found in both male and female graves. Facemasks were recovered from male and female graves with the highest number of metal goods, and can be interpreted reasonably as an embellishment of elite corpses rather than a mark of gender.

[23] Nikola Theodossiev, "The Dead with Golden Faces: Dasaretian, Pelagonian, Mygdonian and Boeotian Funeral Masks," *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 17 (1998): 346-49.

[24] SINDOS: Grave 28 (c. 560), Vokotopoulou, *Σίνδος*, 270; a female grave, includes a mouthpiece showing a sea-faring ship with dolphins leaping alongside; a mouthpiece found in an Archaic male grave at Archontiko is embossed with a lion, Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou, "Αρχοντικού 2004," 564. A third from Aiane shows rampant lion heads between a geometric pattern, Georgia Karamitrou-Mentesidi, "Αιανή 1983-1997" *ΑΕΜΤΗ* 10 (1996): 39, fig. 9. The lion and rampant lion heads may be Thracian motifs, but the ship is unique.

[25] At Aghia Paraskevi, fifty-five mouthpieces were found in the approximately four hundred Archaic burials excavated, Sismanides, "Αγίας Παρασκευής." Nearby at Toumba, six of thirteen Archaic pit-graves contained gold mouthpieces, Soueref, "Σουρωτή 2000," 222.

[26] Fifteen of the thirty Archaic and Classical graves catalogued are identified as female.

[27] SINDOS: Facemasks: Grave 20, Vokotopoulou, *Σίνδος*, 81; Grave 56, Vokotopoulou, *Σίνδος*, 175; Grave 67, Vokotopoulou, *Σίνδος*, 197. Mouthpieces: Grave 22, Vokotopoulou, *Σίνδος*, 76; Grave 117, Vokotopoulou, *Σίνδος*, 45; Grave 28, Vokotopoulou, *Σίνδος*, 270; Grave 101, Vokotopoulou, *Σίνδος*, 290.

[28] Theodossiev, "Golden Faces," 362-64.

Sheet gold clothing ornaments were sewn onto or woven into the garments worn by the dead. Unlike the mouthpieces, the function of these ornaments was not exclusively funerary, although the thin attachments would not have withstood heavy wear and tear. If properly fastened to the cloth, these ancient sequins could have ornamented special occasion garments, and could have been cheaply replaced if damaged. The iconography and shape of the pieces varies: rosettes are quite common, but triangular plaques and long strips embossed with patterns are also frequent. On the rare occasions when the location of the clothing attachments is described, the foil attachments reportedly were scattered around the upper body or along the hem of the garments. Some were probably not sewn onto the clothing itself but were instead fastened to a diadem, or used as a decorative border for a veil. As with the mouthpieces, clothing attachments are found in both male and female graves. They crop up in graves from the Archaic through the Late Classical period. Once the full evidence associated with the placement, imagery, and shape of the attachments is presented, these metal remnants of clothing could shed some light on Macedonian fashion over several centuries.

Apart from the mouthpieces and perhaps the clothing attachments, Macedonian women were dressed for the grave in jewelry that was worn in life. If we examine the eight sixth-century female graves from Sindos, we see that earrings and necklaces are the most common jewelry types interred into the grave. All of these graves contained taenia earrings, two of which were funerary pieces without any means of attachment to the ear.[29] The taenia earring type was unknown until its discovery at Sindos, but since then it has been retrieved regularly in Archaic contexts in the region.[30] Similarly, all eight graves included at least one pendant or chain, although, more often than not, multiple pendants made of gold, silver, amber, or faience were retrieved. It seems likely that multiple necklaces were placed on the dead. Pendants were strung together in various combinations, but a common arrangement placed a large pendant, often amphora-shaped, in the center, with biconical beads completing the necklace on either side. Double-axe pendants have been noted at Sindos and Pella. This old-fashioned motif, which was more common in the Mycenaean period, accords well within Macedonian conservatism

[29] Funerary taenia earrings: Grave 22 and Grave 117, both of which date to c. 500, Vokotopoulou, *Σίνδος*, 45 and 78.

[30] Aikaterini Despoini, *Αρχαία Χρυσά Κοσμήματα* (Athens: Ekdotike Athenon, 1996), 223-25.

witnessed already by the facemasks.[31] Amber and glass beads enlivened the metal jewelry and show that Macedonians utilized a variety of materials and colors in their jewelry.[32] Clothing ornaments were necessary in all of these graves as well, and are equally common in male and female graves. Pins and fibulae could be gold, silver, or a combination of the two precious metals.[33] Additional study of the arrangement of pins and fibulae could give us clues about the arrangement of the shroud that was wrapped around the body as the outermost garment.[34] Bracelets are less common. Only three of the eight sixth-century Sindos graves had ornaments for the wrist. These were found in pairs, and take the form of plain silver rods with engraved snake-head terminals. Four graves had gold finger rings.

These Archaic burials show that popular jewelry types—earrings, necklaces, pins, and fibulae—formed the usual burial set. Although the sample is not extensive, sets are remarkably homogenous, with funerary ornaments and mundane forms of personal adornment merged to create a recognizable assemblage. Perhaps each family member contributed some portion of his or her own collection of jewelry for the dead, or perhaps the set derived largely from the jewelry boxes of the individual being buried. The impression conveyed is that whenever possible, sixth-century Macedonians had an "all-out" approach to dressing the dead, marshalling a full set of ornaments to accompany the corpse.

An Elite Group

Six female graves discovered at Sindos, Vergina, and Pella display a remarkably consistent uniform of personal ornaments that distinguishes their costume from the standard set described above.[35] Two are early, c.

[31] SINDOS: Grave 48, Vokotopoulou, *Σίνδος*, 304; Grave 56, Vokotopoulou, *Σίνδος*, 179; Grave 20, Vokotopoulou, *Σίνδος*, 96; Grave 101, Vokotopoulou, *Σίνδος*, 291; PELLA: Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou, "Αρχοντικού 2001," 487, fig. 4.

[32] SINDOS, Grave 20, for amber beads in rosette and bucranium forms, Vokotopoulou, *Σίνδος*, 90.

[33] SINDOS, Grave 20, for silver pins with gold rosette terminals, Vokotopoulou, *Σίνδος*, 86. The same grave includes a plaited silver chain with gold snake head terminals, Vokotopoulou, *Σίνδος*, 102-3.

[34] At Pella, for example, it was noted that groups of fibulae, two or more pairs, were found near the feet. The unusual position suggests that they were used to ensure the lower part of the garment was well fastened.

[35] 560 B.C.: SINDOS, Grave 28, Vokotopoulou, *Σίνδος*, 242-45, 258-73, and PELLA, Grave 197, Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou, "Αρχοντικού 2002," 469. 510/500 B.C.: SINDOS, Grave 20, Vokotopoulou, *Σίνδος*, 98, and Grave 67, Vokotopoulou,

560 B.C., and the remaining four date to the end of the sixth century, c. 510/500. In half of the cases, we know the age of the deceased. A young girl about seven or eight years old was buried at Pella around 560 B.C.; fifty years later at Pella, a twenty-year-old female was interred with similar richness. The Vergina grave belongs to a mature woman about forty years old. The range suggests that Macedonians did not assign funerary costume according to life stages, but rather followed some other principle in choosing the dress found in these graves. Some gradations may emerge if additional forensic evidence can be recovered from the other burials.

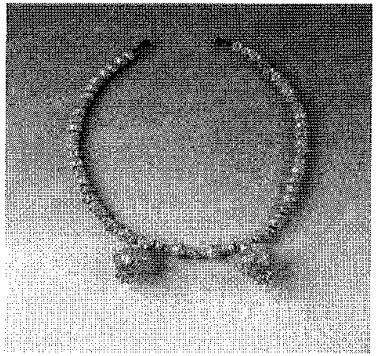

Fig. 4-1 Gold necklace, c. 510 B.C. Thessaloniki MΘ 7962, 7963, 7966, 7967. Courtesy Thessaloniki Archaeological Museum.

As in the other female graves described above, the head and upper body was the center of adornment. Full gold facemasks covered the faces of the four women interred in the late sixth century. Mouthpieces served in the earlier two burials of the Pella child and Sindos female. It may be significant that the Sindos mouthpiece is the only example of a ship drawn

Σίνδος, 194-95; VERGINA, Grave L II, Manolis Andronikos and Angeliki Kottaridou, "Βεργίνα 1988. Ανασκαφή στο Νεκροταφείο," *AEMTh* 2 (1988): 1-3; PELLA, Grave 198, Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou, "Αρχοντικού 2002," 469-71. A partially robbed tomb at Pella, Grave 390, may also have originally belonged to this group; grave-robbers left a bronze lebes and a miniature iron wagon, as well as some gold jewelry that resembles the usual costume outlined above. See Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou, "Αρχοντικού 2004," 565.

on gold foil and therefore could have had specific relevance to this woman or her family. Long temple pendants, or in the case of the Pella girl, hair spirals, coiled down from either side of the head, alongside of which were found a pair of large gold taenia earrings. Several necklace pendants in gold and amber formed multiple necklaces. One of the necklaces from Sindos Grave 67 (Fig. 4-1) would have fallen low across the woman's breast. The two large beads, which resemble pomegranates, are over 6 cm long. All of the beads are decorated with filigree and granulation. Two additional necklaces were found in this burial, a long plaited gold chain with snake-head terminals, and a group of finely made pyramid beads with a central amphora-shaped bead.[36] Amber necklace pendants are known at Sindos and Vergina. Long, gold pins with showy globular terminals were placed at each shoulder. Pairs of gold or silver fibulae would close the shroud, and in three graves, a pair of bracelets, usually silver, spiraled around the wrists. On the clothing itself, sheet gold attachments of various types were reported, and at Vergina the woman wore sandals with silver soles.

In addition to the jewelry, these graves also contained other prestigious goods, including imported Attic and Corinthian perfume vessels, and some drinking equipment, such as a kylix or a hydria. Multiple bronze vessels, especially phialai, as well as lebetes, are characteristic. At Vergina, one of the phialai was engraved with the name "Peperias," one of the earliest known inscriptions from the region. A pair of iron knives is also recorded among the grave kits found at Pella and Vergina.[37] Finally, all of these graves held another characteristic gift reserved for the elite: miniature iron wagons believed to resemble the cart that conveyed the corpse to the grave.[38] The sheer quantity of luxury goods, especially gold jewelry and metal vessels, denotes a special status for these women.

High quantity and superior craftsmanship would immediately distinguish the ornaments from the usual burial assemblage, but a closer

[36] Chain from Grave 67: Vokotopoulou, *Σίνδος*, 204-5. The chain is 74 cm. long and was fastened with a pair of gold fibulae found near the shoulders. Pendants from the third necklace at Grave 67: Vokotopoulou, *Σίνδος*, 200-3. The height of the central pendant is 5.7 cm and the inverted pyramidal pendants are 3.7 cm. This group of pendants may have been arranged as a choker-like necklace worn more tightly around the neck than the other two necklaces.

[37] Knives may also be present at Sindos, but were not sufficiently preserved for display.

[38] Miniature wagons, together with other iron furniture such as tables, chairs, and obeloi, are found in male and female burials. The wagons in the male burials have two wheels, those in female graves have four wheels.

look reveals that certain elements of the costume further differentiate it from the standard Archaic accessories outlined above. Golden hair spirals and temple pendants were vintage forms of dress by the late sixth century. The temple pendants, coils of gold about 70-90 cm in length, were clipped to a veil or lock of hair, and dangled below the chin, framing the face. Only the child's grave lacked them, and this suggests that the temple pendants belonged only to adult women. The hair spirals, found in the child's grave and in some of the adult female graves, were equally anachronistic at this point. Versions of both ornaments enjoyed a vogue in Iron Age Macedonia, but have not been documented outside of these few Archaic graves. Both types of head or hair decoration are unexpected at this late date, and suggest a deliberate reference to past fashions.

Another typical feature of the jewelry found in this group of graves is the large size of the pieces, noted specifically for the objects found at Sindos. Two pins from Sindos are each 35 cm long. The exquisitely manufactured taenia earrings (Fig. 4-2) from the same grave are about 6 cm in diameter, almost twice as large as less gaudy examples from other Sindos graves. A woman flaunting this combination of ornaments in real life would have been the center of attention in a procession or some other public occasion. If this represents an assemblage created for the grave, the gleaming body and face would appear eternally bright and uncorrupt as they were viewed prior to burial.

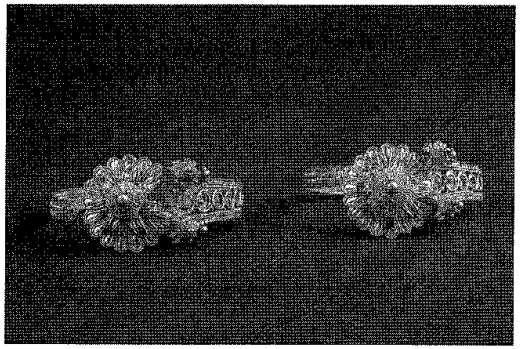

Fig. 4-2 Pair of gold taenia earrings, c. 510 B.C. Thessaloniki MΘ 7975. Courtesy Thessaloniki Archaeological Museum.

Specific knowledge of women's roles in Macedonia at this time is non-existent, but such distinctive assemblages, replicated at multiple sites and over a fifty-year span, compel us to consider them as more than anomalous displays of family wealth.[39] Langdon has argued that a small group of high-prestige female burials in Iron Age Attica, including the Tomb of the Rich Athenian Lady, and the "Isis" grave at Eleusis, contain specific objects that can be associated with the cult of Demeter. As in Archaic Macedonia, these ninth-century Attic female burials are noticeably more profligate and hold more imported goods than any contemporary male graves. The Attic burial complexes include gold jewelry, faience, and specialized forms of pottery, and Langdon suggests that, although connections between grave goods and cult ritual must be tenuous, "when such objects are exclusive to high-status women they cannot be explained simply as standard funeral fare."[40]

Some hints of cult role may be extracted from the Macedonian grave assemblages and contexts as well, although no artifacts guarantee a direct link with religious office. If we consider the mortuary dress of the females, it is unambiguously abundant in comparison to contemporary graves. The temple pendants, in particular, hearken back to an earlier era. Oversized pins, ropes of necklaces, and large earrings, all in gold, demonstrate the resources on which the wearer could draw. The bronze and silver phialai found in the burials may have served as ritual equipment, as could the iron knives at Pella and Vergina. The group of female burials at Vergina offers additional support for specific gender roles. It would seem odd, according to our current understanding, if a group of wives or even sisters were buried alongside each other, but it would strain the imagination less to see a group of priestesses lie together. Finally, the young girl from Pella may have been destined for religious duties later in life. As a substitution, she was buried in the full garb that would articulate her role to the community.

The jewelry in these graves creates a unified identity for the females who were buried wearing it. I have suggested that the ornaments were reserved for women who achieved the role of, or were ordained to become, priestesses in a cult. Alternate interpretations of the costume could instead link it with other identities. Perhaps the women belonged to or married

[39] Elizabeth Carney, *Women and Monarchy in Macedonia* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000), 8-13, for obstacles to the study of Macedonian women.

[40] Susan Langdon, "Views of Wealth, a Wealth of Views: Grave Goods in Iron Age Attica," in *Women and Property in Ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean Societies*, ed. Deborah Lyons and Raymond Westbrook (Center for Hellenic Studies, 2005), 16.

into some politically prominent family and this status was considered their most important achievement.[41] Membership in an elite family could merit their special dress, perhaps even the archaic-looking temple pendants, and the elaborate grave goods. The purpose of the lavish, old-fashioned extravagance must remain open, but this case study illustrates the areas of social history that can be explored when investigating a complex of jewelry.

Archaic Jewelry and Art

Undisturbed contexts also furnish vital data for specific issues concerning jewelry typologies and regional styles. Here too, Macedonia has much to contribute. If we compare the Archaic jewelry found in Macedonia with contemporary types from elsewhere in the Mediterranean, it is possible to identify a blend of Greek and non-Greek styles. It should be noted that, excluding the Macedonian jewelry, the corpus of dated Archaic jewelry is exceptionally limited.[42] Archaic Greek artists loved pattern, color, and other details of costume, but more often than not, the women depicted in the major and minor arts were devoid of personal ornament. When jewelry was shown, artistic concern for details varied widely; random blobs communicated the idea of a necklace pendant just as easily as a carefully drawn ornament. Even careful representations of ornaments do not always guarantee that they existed since, in some instances, we do not yet have real examples of earrings to compare with the painted ones. Despite these limitations, however, researchers must resort routinely to secondary images as their main body of evidence for ancient dress.[43]

Happily, some Macedonian jewelry types validate the notion that specifics of dress can be recovered from secondary images. On the François Vase, the huntress Atalanta and the Moirai sport long pins with double disk heads and globular terminals that immediately recall

[41] Carney, *Women and Monarchy*, 244, sees the group of females at Vergina as representing royal women.

[42] Reynold Higgins, *Greek and Roman Jewellery*, 2nd ed. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1980), 121.

[43] Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones, *Aphrodite's Tortoise: The Veiled Women of Ancient Greece* (Swansea, Wales: Classical Press of Wales, 2003), encounters similar difficulties in his study of the veil in Greek art. Most women were not shown veiled despite the evidence for widespread veiling practices in the Greek world.

contemporary Macedonian pins.[44] The amphora-shaped necklace pendants that enliven Phrasikleia and the Berlin Kore show an even closer parallel between Attic image and Macedonian reality. Miller-Collett argues that evidence such as this supplies a rare glimpse of a luxury trade between Athens and Macedonia in the sixth century. Several potential scenarios can be imagined: perhaps the barter of finished gold ornaments, or Macedonian goldsmiths traveling to ply their trade in Athens, as Miller-Collett proposes, or vice versa, Athenian craftsmen seeking work in the north.[45] It is intriguing to speculate whether it was Macedonians who wanted Athenian trinkets, just as they desired perfume containers and cups from that city, or whether wealthy Athenian families imported their jewelry from afar, as they had during the Iron Age.[46] Only one side of the exchange supplies primary evidence however, and thus the place of manufacture—or the ethnicity of the goldsmith—cannot be determined conclusively. For the purposes of this study, the significance lies in glimpses of shared jewelry types circulating in the north and south.

Other types of Macedonian jewelry, especially the earrings, appear to reflect purely local styles. One of the most common Archaic Mediterranean earring forms was the boat shape, originally adopted from the east, where it had a long history in Mesopotamia and the Levant. In northern Greece, however, the boat earring was rare until the Late Classical period. Instead the Macedonians favored the elaborate taenia earring, no exact analogue of which has been found elsewhere.[47] The multiple necklaces favored in Macedonia, especially the types that hang low from the neck, cannot be paralleled in Greek art. This too could be a regional fashion.

In sum, while a few ornaments can be identified in both regions, the jewelry that composed the usual Archaic "set" described as common in Macedonian graves—large earrings, necklaces in gold, glass, and amber, pins and fibulae, and occasionally bracelets—bears little resemblance to even the most well-dressed Athenian female in the art of the era. The

[44] Paul Jacobsthal, *Greek Pins and their Connexions with Europe and Asia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956), figs. 331-32. A long pin with a globular terminal, similar to Vokotopoulou, *Σίνδος*, 268-69, (c. 560) and Vokotopoulou, *Σίνδος*, 208-9, dating to 510, fastens the upper garments of two Moirai on the same vase.

[45] Miller-Collett, "Macedonia and Athens," 25.

[46] Higgins, *Greek and Roman Jewellery*, 94-100.

[47] It is possible that the large disk earrings found on korai are abbreviated versions of the taenia earring, although these disks were usually colored, suggesting that they were made of stone rather than metal.

Archaic Macedonian females wore their own conspicuous native costume, rather than an imported one, into the next life. In the following generations, they would choose a different mode of dress.

Fifth-Century Macedonian Burial Rituals and Funerary Costume

Archaic Macedonian graves appointed with gold jewelry mainly date to the end of the sixth century, but this richness appears to fade during the fifth century. For example, let us return to Sindos. The same cemetery that produced such striking examples of the goldsmith's craft yields a comparatively austere collection of Early Classical ornaments. Tomb 96 (c. 450-440) illustrates the phenomenon. It contained an Attic red-figure skyphos, a bronze vessel, the usual sheet gold mouthpiece, a small (1cm) gold amphora-shaped pendant, four silver fibulae that were used to fasten a silver chain to the garment of the deceased (Fig. 4-3), a pair of silver omega earrings (Fig. 4-4), and a partially preserved bronze vessel.[48] Some vestiges of Archaic funerary complexes appear in this grave—there is, for example, a golden mouthpiece and a chain, here rendered in silver rather than gold—but the pins, additional necklace pendants, and foil clothing attachments that were customary in the sixth century are missing. This assemblage may represent a poorer burial overall, but both the plainer jewelry forms and the reduced number of pieces are well documented throughout the region. At Pella, where we saw Archaic graves laden with metal goods, the Classical graves contain far fewer riches. Such restraint is somewhat surprising when we consider that Pella became the new capital of Macedon in the fifth century, but political and social displays seem to have shifted away from the cemetery venue. Individual grave inventories are not provided for the Classical graves at Pella, and the only personal ornaments noted are silver omega-shaped earrings and bow fibulae.[49] No necklace pendants or bracelets are listed among the jewelry.

[48] Vokotopoulou, *Σίνδος*, 218-22.
[49] Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou, "Αρχοντικού 2004," 566.

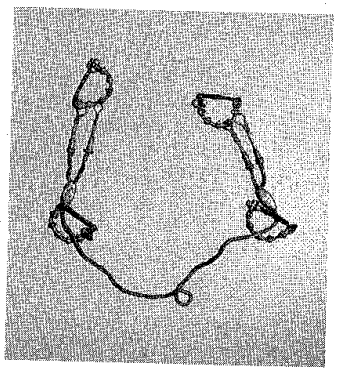

Fig. 4-3 Silver chain and four silver bow fibulae, c. 450-440 B.C. Thessaloniki MΘ 8719, 8720. Courtesy Thessaloniki Archaeological Museum.

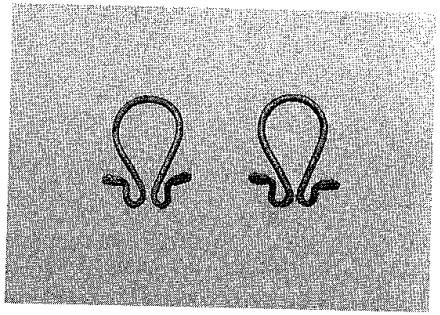

Fig. 4-4 Pair of silver omega earrings, c. 475-450 B.C. Thessaloniki MΘ 8701. Courtesy Thessaloniki Archaeological Museum.

Another important fifth-century site, Pydna, reflects a similar scenario. Pydna became a prosperous harbor town that attracted the attention of the Greeks during the Classical period. According to Thucydides, Pydna successfully defended itself from an Athenian siege in 432, its population likely retreating behind the strong defensive walls that date to the early

fifth century.[50] Again, however, when we turn to the cemeteries associated with this settlement, the fifth-century tombs offer up a random assortment of bronze and silver jewelry in simple forms: a few gold or silver omega-shaped earrings, a handful of necklace pendants, and pairs of bronze bracelets. In the fourteen fifth-century burials that contained jewelry, six gold pendants were found—no more than one pendant per grave. One grave yielded a necklace of carved bone necklace pendants, four graves contained earrings, and bracelets were found in three.[51] No consistent grouping of jewelry can be isolated and, apart from fibulae, no single type of jewelry can be deemed necessary for the corpse. Funerary jewelry, such as the mouthpiece, is reported less often as well. All in all, there is a significant reduction in the jewelry found.

Aiane in Upper Macedonia is one of the few settlements that offers solid evidence for occupation during the late sixth and fifth centuries. One of the most intriguing discoveries is a monumental burial complex below the lowest terrace, containing a late sixth-century cist-tomb surrounded by a stone wall, and nearby, the remains of a second, smaller tomb about half a century later in date.[52] Aiane served as the ancient capital of the Elimiotes, one of the many tribes in northern Greece, and these are likely burials of the Elimiote leaders. If so, they adopted a strongly Hellenic taste for the decoration of their funeral monuments and thus display a decidedly different approach to honoring the dead. Marble sculpture, consisting of the head of a kore, a lion, and a kouros, all dated to approximately 480 B.C., was discovered within this peribolos grave. The monument stood over the grave, and this too recalls the burial practices that were used in southern Greece, especially in Athens. The uncommon attention paid to the exterior of the grave at Aiane may be relevant to the broader modifications in Classical Macedonian burial rituals. Other mid- and late-fifth century grave stelai have been discovered at Thessaloniki, Pella, Vergina and Nea Kallikratia.[53] Aiane also contributes locally produced polychrome pottery from its fifth-century graves, replicating funerary vessels popular in central Greece and Attica.[54] Both the external markers

[50] Thucy.I.61.2-3.
[51] Tsigarida, "Pydna," 48-50.
[52] Karamitrou-Mentesidi, "Αιανή 1983-1997," 26-28. The burials were robbed in antiquity.
[53] Felten, 1993, 412-13, for stelae from Thessaloniki, Dion, Pella and Nea Kallikrateia; *Le civilization grecque*, 1993, 202, for the stele of a young boy and his dog.
[54] Eurydice Kefalidou, "Late Archaic Polychrome Pottery from Aiani," *Hesperia* 70 (2001): 183-219.

and grave goods from Aiane show familiarity with key funerary ideology in southern Greece.

Few details concerning the extensive cemetery outside of the city proper at Aiane have been published, but the burials reportedly produced gold and silver jewelry and metal vessels, as we have come to expect from Macedonian funerary practices. The examples of jewelry reported are typical Macedonian types of the mid-fifth century, including the widely popular omega earrings.[55]

The small number of personal ornaments found in Early and Middle Classical Macedonian graves may signal that the local elite decided to distinguish themselves with a different form of burial ritual. Greeks in the south rarely included any grave gifts other than pottery, terracotta figurines, and some astragaloi, the knucklebones used as dice, with the dead. This practice may have seemed new and somewhat exotic to those living in the north. Additionally, the presence of funerary jewelry in non-elite graves at Sindos suggests that emulation of traditional practices was increasing, and this trend may have pressured the elite to adopt new ways to distinguish themselves. A move away from gold-filled burials may have been desirable to maintain social distinctions; permanent grave markers would have provided a new medium of expression. The custom lasted for a little over a century and by the fourth century, traditional Macedonian love of extravagant funeral displays re-emerged.

Macedonian and Athenian Fifth-Century Costume

The documented pattern of fifth-century restraint in Macedonian burial costume indicates a noticeable and relatively sudden change in funerary costume from the late sixth century. Within a generation or two, Macedonian women traded their strings of amber and gold necklaces, large pins and taenia earrings, for less elaborate silver ornaments, with glints of gold appearing only occasionally. Some of the former funerary expense may have been transferred to other aspects of the burial ritual, such as the marble grave markers discussed above, or redirected to other—archaeologically undetectable—avenues of display. But other than noting a decline in grave goods and speculating about closer connections to Athens, what else can we say about Classical Macedonian jewelry during this period of restraint?

Archaic Attic art proved to be a valuable resource for some images that parallel actual Macedonian jewelry. Overall, however, comparisons of real

[55] Karamitrou-Mentesidi, "Αιανή 1983-1997," 28, figs. 10-12.

examples of Archaic Macedonian jewelry and contemporary visual representations show that the funerary complexes of northern Greece bore little resemblance to even the most ornately costumed women depicted in Athenian art. For the Classical period, however, virtually all of the jewelry types found in Macedonia are analogous to types represented on Athenian vases. An increase in female-focused scenes, such as bridal preparations, may have encouraged a new focus on dress and ornament by Attic artists. We have seen that the omega earring was one of the two standard types found in fifth-century Macedonian burials. If this was originally a Macedonian form, then it seems to have enjoyed a vogue in Athens as well.[56] (Fig. 4-5) A single necklace pendant strung on a choker appears in a bridal scene on an epinetrion by the Eretria Painter.[57] Once again, as in the Archaic period, the primary evidence from Macedonia confirms that Attic women wore the same types of jewelry.

Fig. 4-5 Lebes Gamikos, c. 440 B.C. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Inv. No. 14791. Courtesy Hellenic Ministry of Culture/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

[56] Athens National Museum 14791, *ARV*^{2} 1126, 5.
[57] Athens National Museum 1629, *ARV*^{2} 1250, 54, *Para*, 46, *Add*^{2}, 354.

In Attic art, representations of jewelry follow no consistent grouping that indicates "sets" were common. Study of dowries from lawsuits might offer more insight, but usually jewelry is grouped together under the term "chrysa," which denotes the value of the metal rather than the types of ornaments that created a dowry.[58] A survey of bridal iconography shows that single necklaces worn tight around the throat, pairs of bracelets and pairs of earrings comprised the most extravagant sets of jewelry depicted, although even this grouping is not the norm.[59] A similar mix-and-match approach is found in Classical Macedonian graves. Unlike in the Archaic art, where only a few Macedonian jewelry types occur in two-dimensional form, several of the favorite forms of Classical Macedonian jewelry, omega earrings and snake bracelets, for example, are paralleled in Athenian vase-painting. Further correspondence between the two regions is found in the way that costume is arranged. When they are shown wearing jewelry, Athenian women are portrayed with only one or two pieces, perhaps a pair of earrings and a necklace. In Macedonia they were prepared for the afterlife with similarly scant adornment. In both areas, women may well have worn more ornaments in daily life, but in art and in the grave, this restrained costume conveyed essential ideas of female fashion.

Classical Macedonian funerary rituals show increasing alliance with southern Greek modes of burial. Some Macedonians, beginning early in the fifth century with the leaders at Aiane, adopted traditional southern Greek monument-types to mark the burial site. When the bodies of Macedonian women were displayed, they were decked out in simple jewelry forms that were familiar in southern Greece as well. Although Athenian viewers of a Macedonian burial ceremony may still have been impressed by the number of metal grave goods removed from circulation—bronze vessels were still interred, as was some gold and silver jewelry—these were a mere handful in comparison to the gifts buried in Archaic graves in Macedonia. I suggest that the fashion for simpler jewelry found in the grave allies Macedonia with southern Greece in a different way, one that moves into individual choices concerning dress. That choice might be to copy the fashions in southern Greece.

[58] Cheryl Cox, *Household Interests: Property, Marriage Strategies and Family Dynamics in Ancient Athens* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998) and Rafael Sealey, *Women and Law in Ancient Greece* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), for dowries.
[59] Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 95.1402, *ARV*^{2} 1326.71, *Para* 478. John Oakley and Rebecca Sinos, *The Wedding in Ancient Athens* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993), fig. 30.

Conclusion

Macedonian gold jewelry discovered since the late twentieth century has transformed our understanding of personal ornament, dress, and private wealth in the Greek world. We have explored several ways in which these artifacts contribute essential information to the study of adornment. On a basic level, Macedonian ornaments provide rare, and welcome, secure chronological and regional evidence for Greek jewelry types; this permits us to see that certain forms, such as the amphora-shaped necklace pendants, also appear in Athenian art. Trade connections already demonstrated by Athenian, Corinthian, and Ionian pottery are thus confirmed by these high-end exchanges in luxury goods. More widely, however, a study of the grave assemblages—which ornaments were chosen for the dead, how they were arranged, and how graves of one era compare to those of another—urges us to address important questions of identity. In the Archaic period, we saw that Macedonians favored gold jewelry over that in other materials, and chose pieces to adorn the head, ears, neck, shoulders, and wrists of the deceased female. A woman could have worn many of these ornaments in her lifetime; others, such as the gold mouthpieces and masks, were placed on the body only after her death. At Vergina, Pella, and Sindos, a small group of women were additionally embellished with large, well-crafted, extravagant amounts of jewelry that presented a distinctive funerary costume. I have suggested that this grave garb could have been appropriate for a priestess, especially since certain anachronistic artifacts were characteristic of this group and, to date, of no other sixth-century female burials. Whether the attire represented cult role or perhaps clan identity must remain unresolved, but I hope that this analysis of jewelry within its archaeological context has revealed additional layers of meaning for these personal ornaments.

Fifth-century Macedonian jewelry is paltry in comparison to that of the sixth century. Excavation seasons to come may radically change our current perception, but as it stands now, we see that far less jewelry adorned the dead at this time than during either the preceding Archaic era or the Late Classical period that followed. The small quantity of jewelry that has been retrieved looks cheap next to Archaic ornaments, and the funerary costume appears to be arbitrary: a pair of earrings in one grave, a necklace and a ring in another. This seemingly random assortment of adornment seems far closer to the way that Athenian women are depicted in contemporary vase-painting; the impression is strengthened when we see that Macedonian jewelry types again show up on Attic vases. Stone grave markers drawing on traditional Greek funerary iconography begin to

appear in Macedonia over the course of the fifth century, and this evidence argues for northern Greek interest in southern burial customs. The change in how much and what types of ornaments decorated a corpse could also denote a new mode of dress that corresponded to trends in Attica or elsewhere in Greece.

The details may remain elusive, but study of Macedonian funeral assemblages has the benefit of placing analysis of these burials within a broader Mediterranean perspective of social contacts. As we are now fortunate to have an extensive, and ever-increasing, body of evidence from Macedonia, it is possible to move beyond the initial gleam of gold and other riches to explore the changing ways by which the northern elite signaled their cultural identity and alliances.

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CHAPTER FIVE

"FASHIONING" INITIATES: DRESS AT THE MYSTERIES

LAURA GAWLINSKI

Adornment was an important part of a complicated system of nonverbal communication in antiquity. Besides indicating the gender, age, wealth, status, or ethnicity of an individual, dress and accessories can also reveal mood and situation, marking the difference between festival and mourning, or even sacred and profane. The dress used in ancient Mediterranean religious contexts offers an exciting opportunity to see how adornment functions because those contexts were affected by two separate concerns: adornment could reflect ritual needs, but because ancient Greek and Roman cult practice was social, religious gatherings also offered a unique venue for public display. The effects of these concerns can be illustrated by examining one particular kind of ancient cult, the Mysteries—elective cults into which individuals chose to be initiated. Because of the nature of our sources, rather than attempt to create a lengthy catalog of what these initiates might have worn, I instead assemble here information from disparate sources from different times, places, and cults to get an overall view of the use of personal ornamentation in mystery cults. There may not have been a set initiate dress, but this does not mean clothing did not have a part to play in the complex of meanings in the rituals of initiation. Rather, from looking at such evidence, it is clear that clothing was an important feature of the initiation experience, both during the actual initiation, and continuing afterwards. Dress could be used to highlight a portion of the initiation ceremony, to draw attention to special individuals, to separate various groups from each other, or to mark an individual after the process as one who has undergone initiation.[1]

[1] I have presented many of the following ideas in two papers, "What Not to Wear: Regulating Clothing at the Andanian Mysteries" (*American Philological Association* Annual Meeting, San Francisco, 2004) and "'Fashioning' Initiates: Dress at the Mysteries" (*Archaeological Institute of America* Annual Meeting, Boston, 2005). I thank the editors of this volume for the invitation to explore the topic further here.

One of the identifying characteristics of ancient Mysteries was the requirement of initiation (Greek *myesis*), through which an individual underwent an experience resulting in acceptance and all the benefits it provided. Because of the transformative quality of that process, initiation can be considered part of the broad category of rites of passage. The donning of specific ritual clothing in some ancient Greek rites of passage is well known. A dress referred to as the *krokotos* was worn by the young Athenian girls who played the bear during the Arkteia at Brauron, a sort of coming of age ceremony.[2] Likewise the girls who ran races at Olympia for the Heraia—an activity that has been identified as a transitional, pre-marital ritual—also had a specialized outfit.[3] Festivals that centered on male rites of passage, like the Cretan *Ekdusia* or the Athenian *Oschophoria*, sometimes included what has been called "initiatory transvestism" to physically represent the change of boy to man through the wearing and removing of female clothing.[4]

Since dress was a meaningful feature in other ancient rites of passage, it comes as no surprise that there is significant evidence pointing towards the importance of clothing in mystery cults. The individual who underwent initiation at the Mysteries was thought of as being changed in some way through the experience, in much the same way that children passed into adulthood during their rites of initiation. This concept was familiar enough to Plutarch's audience that he was able to explain the complete change and conversion of the soul at death through reference to the experience of an

[2] Two important works on the Arkteia that explore the use and meaning of this garment are Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood, *Studies in Girls' Transitions: Aspects of the Arkteia and Age Representation in Attic Iconography* (Athens: Kardamitsa, 1988), and Nanno Marinatos, "The *Arkteia* and the Gradual Transformation of the Maiden into a Woman," in *Le orse di Brauron: Un rituale di iniziazione femminile nel santuario di Artemide*, ed. Bruno Gentili and Franca Perusino (Pisa: ETS, 2002), 29-42.

[3] Nancy Serwint, "The Female Athletic Costume at the Heraia and Prenuptial Initiation Rites," *American Journal of Archaeology* 97 (1993): 403-22.

[4] For the *Ekdusia* and *Oschophoria*, see David D. Leitao, "The Perils of Leukippos: Initiatory Transvestism and Male Gender Ideology in the Ekdusia at Phaistos," *Classical Antiquity* 14 (1995): 130-63. For a brief collection of the use of transvestism in other such rituals, see Margaret C. Miller, "Reexamining Transvestism in Archaic and Classical Athens: The Zewadski Stamnos," *American Journal of Archaeology* 103 (1999): 242-43.

initiate at the Mysteries (*On the Soul* fr.178 [Stobaeus iv.52.49]).[5] He describes the soul wandering in terror through the dark like an initiate until finally struck with light as he is received in open meadows by those previously initiated. Whatever this passage may or may not say about the rituals of the Mysteries, death, or Plutarch's philosophy, it shows through its description of the initiate that the final transformation could be represented physically. Now fully initiated:

> περιιὼν ἐστεφανωμένος ὀργιάζει καὶ σύνεστιν
> ὁσίοις καὶ καθαροῖς ἀνδράσι
>
> He goes about, wreathed, celebrating the rites, and engages
> with men who are pure and clean.[6]

The wreath the initiate wears on his head is emphasized as a part of his new appearance. It marks him as worthy to associate with pure, clean men, revealing that dress-oriented imagery is associated with the result of the transformation of initiation.

A range of literary and epigraphic sources speaks to the prominence of adornment in mystery cults. First, there is evidence for a tradition of initiates later dedicating their clothing at sanctuaries. Although the sources for that tradition are scanty, they do imply that the clothing one wore at initiation had some kind of special significance to the wearer. In Aristophanes' *Plutos* (lines 842-846), when the Just Man states that he wishes to offer his cloak (τριβώνιον, line 842) to the god, Karion asks him if it is because he was initiated in it (ἐνεμυήθης, line 845). The scholiast on line 845, quoting Melanthios FGrH 326 F4, explains this exchange as referring to the custom of dedicating initiation clothing to the Goddesses or using it as swaddling clothes.[7] A reference to an ἱματιοθήκης in an inscription from Eleusis (*IG* II^2 1672, line 229; 329/8 B.C.), understood to be a structure used for the storage of clothing dedications, is further evidence in support of this custom.[8] The importance of initiate clothing is also apparent in the sacred law that governed the

[5] This passage is discussed by George E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), 264-66.
[6] All translations are mine unless otherwise noted.
[7] Kenneth Dover, *Aristophanes' Frogs* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 62-63 discusses the implications of the passage and the scholiast's comments.
[8] Mylonas, 279-80, with note 214, briefly notes the tradition of clothing dedication and the presence of a "vestiary."

Mysteries of Andania in Messenia (*IG* V, 1 1390; 93 B.C.).[9] That law reserved no less than sixteen lines of inscribed text (lines 13-28) for detailed rules concerning adornment; only financial matters appear more often (Fig. 5-1).[10] Some mystery cults in the Roman period made use of specialized initiate dress, and in fact the emphasis on clothes seems to have become even more striking at that time. According to the description in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, initiates of Isis received a new linen robe (11.23), and her celebration involved the clothing of the initiate in twelve new mantles with symbolic decorations, after the removal of the old clothing (11.24).[11] Dress was such a recognizable feature of initiation that it provoked the anger of Tertullian, who complained that shallow pagan women really chose to be initiates of Ceres just for the "all-white dress or the honour of ribbons (*vittae*) and the privilege of a [religious] cap..."[12]

[9] The focus of my 2006 dissertation was a new edition, translation, and commentary of this law; the excerpts of text used here are from that new edition. Here I follow the traditional calculation of the date of the inscription, but future work may prove that it should be down-dated into the reign of Tiberius; see Petros Themelis, "Ἀνασκαφὴ Μεσσήνης," *Prakt* (2004 [2001]): 75-79.
[10] The clothing regulations in the inscription have attracted more attention than any other section: Billie Jean Garland, "Gynaikonomoi: An Investigation of Greek Censors of Women," (PhD diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1981), 143; Harrianne Mills, "Greek Clothing Regulations: Sacred and Profane?" *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 55 (1984): 259-60; Daniel Ogden, "Controlling Women's Dress: *gynaikonomoi*," in *Women's Dress in the Ancient Greek World*, ed. Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones (London: Duckworth and The Classical Press of Wales, 2002), 203-8, 214-15; Joan Breton Connelly, *Portrait of a Priestess: Women and Ritual in Ancient Greece* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 86, 106-7, within a longer chapter on the clothing of priestesses, 84-115; Liza Cleland, "The Semiosis of Description: Some Reflections on Fabric and Colour in the Brauron Inventories," in *The Clothed Body in the Ancient World*, ed. Liza Cleland, Mary Harlow and Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2005), 95, note 24; and Liza Cleland, *The Brauron Clothing Catalogues: Text, Analysis, Glossary and Translation* (*BAR International Series* 1428), (Oxford: John and Erica Hedges, Ltd., 2005), 161, references the forthcoming publication of a conference paper entitled, "A Hierarchy of Women at Andania."
[11] Discussed by J. Gwyn Griffins, *The Isis-Book* (Leiden: Brill, 1975), 308-14.
[12] Tertullian, *De Pallio* 4.10, trans. Alexandra T. Croom, *Roman Clothing and Fashion* (Charleston: Tempus Publishing Ltd., 2000), 112.

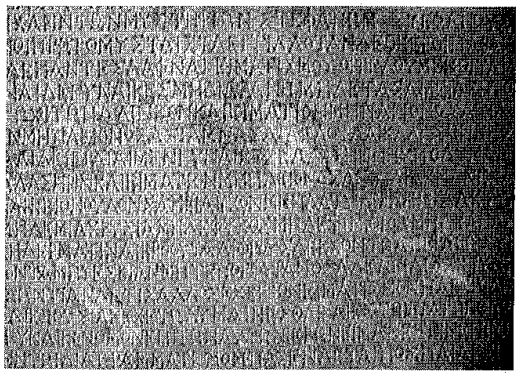


Fig. 5-1: Sacred Law of Andania, portion of lines 13-28.

Although it is clear that dress was a recognizable feature of mystery cults, the actual physical attire with which initiates were adorned is not always easy to assess. The specific items varied from cult to cult, and certainly even within each cult over time, and the limited sources make these synchronic and diachronic differences difficult to categorize. Images of initiates, when they can be identified, can provide support for what was actually worn in these cults, but certainly were not intended to be taken as photographic evidence. The use of nudity, for example, must often be explained in terms of symbolism, whether for heroic or other reasons, rather than used as proof of nudity during initiation. Literary sources similarly must be scrutinized for their tone and purpose. The chorus of the initiates in Aristophanes' *Frogs* (lines 404-406) points out to the audience their torn rags (ῥάκος, line 406), and uses the diminutive σανδαλίσκον (line 405) to describe their shoes. This is not necessarily reliable evidence for the uniform of initiates off-stage; rather, this passage could be read as part of a joke about the chorus's raggedy *dramatic* outfit, a result perhaps of having to fund two choruses for one play.[13] The term ῥάκος, furthermore, has also been shown to have specific connotations for

[13] Dover discusses whether the *Frogs* reflects real initiate clothing. The two choruses were of course the frogs and the initiates.

costume clothing, especially in Artistophanes.[14] Keeping these problems of identification and interpretation in mind, it is still possible to explore the general uses of adornment in the Mysteries.

I begin with adornment as used during the actual initiation ritual. The accessory most related to initiation was the wreath. Wreaths were generally used as a physical marker of religious ritual and festival time, but they also took on a special role in the Mysteries as an item worn by initiates.[15] As mentioned above, it is the only noted physical feature of Plutarch's soul-as-initiate. The moment when an initiate received this wreath that marked his status was a special moment, at least in some mystery cults. The most striking example comes from the sacred law of Andania. Because this document (like most *leges sacrae*) is most concerned with organizational procedures, it does not include many details about rituals, especially those that were secret. One of the few details of the mystery rite at Andania that is mentioned, however, is the inclusion of a wreathing ceremony for first-time initiates (lines 13-15):

> ᵛ στεφάνων. ᵛ 1-5 στεφάνους δὲ ἐχόντω οἱ μὲν
> ἱεροὶ καὶ αἱ ἱεραὶ πῖλον λευκόν, | τῶν δὲ
> τελουμένων οἱ πρωτομύσται στλεγγίδα·
> ὅταν δὲ οἱ ἱεροὶ παραγγείλωντι, τὰμ μὲν
> στλεγγίδα ἀποθέσθωσαν, | στεφανούσθωσαν δὲ
> πάντες δάφναι.
>
> Concerning Wreaths: As wreaths, the sacred men and the sacred women must wear a white felt cap, and of the initiates, the first-time initiates must wear tiaras. When the sacred men make the announcement, they must take off the tiaras and all be wreathed with laurel.

Sacred men and women, the previously initiated individuals who oversaw the Andanian Mysteries, wore white felt caps during the initiation, whereas the *protomystai*, the first-time initiates, began the ceremony wearing tiara-like crowns. At the signal, the change from tiara to wreath was used as an outward symbol of the inward change created by initiation,

[14] Silvia Milanezi, "Beauty in Rags. On *Rhakos* in Aristophanic Theatre," in *The Clothed Body in the Ancient World*, ed. Cleland, Harlow and Llewellyn-Jones, 82-85.

[15] Michael Blech, *Studien zum Kranz bei den Griechen*, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1982) is a thorough study of wreaths; Matthew W. Dickie, "The Dionysiac Mysteries in Pella," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 109 (1995): 84-86, collects sources for wreaths in mystery cults.

marking the conclusion of the rite of passage. Although the Mysteries at Eleusis had no such ritual for its general initiates, they probably did include a ceremony in which the Initiate from the Hearth, the child initiate selected by the Archon Basileios, was wreathed in front of the other initiates.[16]

The wreath was a major feature of the Roman Mysteries of Mithras as well, but in this case, it was ultimately the rejection of a wreath rather than the wearing of it that was symbolic. These Mysteries contained seven initiation stages, each with special names for the initiate and represented by special symbols. The ceremony for the third initiation stage, *miles* (soldier), included a wreathing ceremony, as described by Tertullian (*De Corona Militis* 15.33). In the *De Corona*, Tertullian supports the refusal of a Christian soldier to wear a military wreath and urges others to do the same. The companions of that soldier are chastised with the assertion that even the pagan followers of Mithras refuse to be wreathed:[17]

> Erubescite, commilitones eius, iam non ab ipso iudicandi, sed ab aliquo Mithrae milite. Qui cum initiatur in spelaeo, in castris vere tenebrarum, coronam interposito gladio sibi oblatam, quasi mimum martyrii, dehinc capiti suo accommodatam monetur obvia manu a capite pellere et in humerum, si forte, transferre, dicens Mithran esse coronam suam. Atque exinde nunquam coronatur idque in signum habet ad probationem sui.
>
> Be ashamed, his fellow-soldiers, now to be judged not by him, but by some soldier of Mithras, who when initiated in a cave – in truth the camp of darkness– when the crown has been offered to him with a sword placed between, as if to copy martyrdom, and then is fitted onto his head, he is instructed to knock it from his head with his hand meeting it and to move it, perchance, onto his shoulder, saying that Mithras is his crown. And from then on he is never crowned, and he has that as a sign toward the proof of himself.

[16] For the selection, see Kevin Clinton, *The Sacred Officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1974), 99-100; for the possibility of the ceremony, 111 (based on *IG* II^2 4077, lines 7-10, third quarter of the second century A.D.).

[17] I use the term "crown" in this translation since that is the familiar rendering of *corona* in this context, though a vegetal crown (i.e., a wreath) is what is intended. On the material of military "crowns," see Germaine Guillaume-Coirier, "Techniques coronaires romaines: plantes 'liées' et plantes 'enfilées,'" *Revue Archéologique* (2002): 61-71.

Tertullian's description is further supported by an image from a wall painting in a Mithraeum at Capua, where it appears that a nude, kneeling man is having a round object placed on his head using a sword or spear.[18] Although wreathing is an element of the initiation itself, it is the refusal to wear a wreath after initiation that became the sign of a follower of Mithras.

The symbolism of the wreath and its frequent connection to mystery cults was so powerful that the wreath became a sort of iconographic shorthand meaning "initiate," except for Mithraism, in which the lack of the wreath was the initiate marker.[19] Many artifacts related to the Eleusinian Mysteries, such as the well-known Ninnion plaque, depict wreathed initiates.[20] Images of the Initiate from the Hearth can be identified by their wreaths, either worn on the head or hanging on a tree stump.[21] Several sculptures of young initiates wearing wreaths have been found in the excavations of the Athenian Agora, presumably originating in the Eleusinion on the north slope of the Acropolis.[22] Because of their young age, these are thought to be Initiates from the Hearth. One example dated to the second quarter of the third century A.D. shows the prominence of a large wreath of bound, stylized leaves, likely myrtle due to its Eleusinian connection (Figs. 5-2 and 5-3). Grotesque representations on vases from the Theban Kabirion also indicate that the wreath was a feature of initiation in the Mysteries held there.[23] The use of the wreath as a visual signifier found its way into literary descriptions as well. The god

[18] This image is illustrated by Reinhold Merkelbach, *Mithras* (Königstein: Hain, 2004), 288, plate 30; connection to the *miles* stage and the crowning ceremony discussed, 94-100.

[19] Ibid., 332, plate 86a; connection to the *miles* stage, 96. It is notable, however, that a Mithraic altar decorated with a carved wreath with *deo* inscribed inside it has been interpreted as an allusion to the ceremony of the *miles* initiation grade.

[20] Mylonas, figure 88.

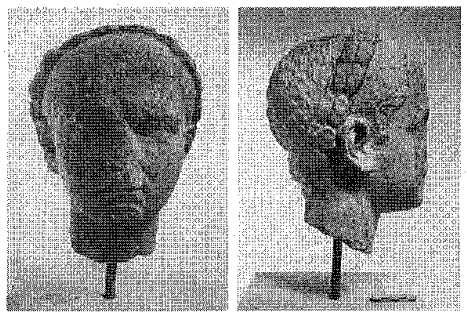
[21] Roman copies of an Initiate from the Hearth type are illustrated and discussed by Clinton, *The Sacred Officials*, 101-8.

[22] Evelyn B. Harrison, *Portrait Sculpture* (*Agora Vol. I*) (Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1953), 54-55, no. 41, plate 28; 55-56, no. 42, plate 27; 60-61, no. 46, plate 29; Clinton, *The Sacred Officials*, 105-6.

[23] Examples of these vases with images of initiates wearing wreaths and branches are collected by Albert Schachter, *Cults of Boiotia. 2. Herakles to Poseidon* (*Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies Supplement 38.2*) (London: Institute of Classical Studies, 1986), 101, with note 1.

Iakhos is described as wearing a crown of myrtle in Aristophanes' *Frogs* (lines 328-330). This description has been taken as an indication of the close connection of Iakhos to the initiate band, which carried his statue to Eleusis.[24]

Some of the *lamellae* associated with the Mysteries of Dionysos and Orpheus also underscore this connection between wreaths and initiates. These thin sheets of metal were inscribed with messages to aid the initiates in their underworld journey, such as directions for maneuvering through different areas and what to say upon meeting the underworld deities. They were probably given to a follower during an initiation, and then later deposited with the dead initiate for use in the afterlife. Many took the form of generic geometric shapes, but others have been found in the shape of leaves.[25] The leaf shape, perhaps even specifically representing myrtle, has been convincingly linked to mystery cult wreaths.[26]



Figs. 5-2 and 5-3: Agora S1307, Initiate from the Hearth. American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations.

The wreath is the physical ornament with the most widespread use, but there is also evidence of the employment of veil-like coverings in some

[24] Kevin Clinton, *Myth and Cult: The Iconography of the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Stockholm: Svenska Institutet I Athen, 1992), 64.

[25] Two leaf-shaped gold *lamellae* from fourth-century cist graves in Pella are published by Maria Lilimpaki-Akamati, "Από τα νεκροταφεία της Πέλλας," *Το Αρχαιολοικό Έργο στή Μακεδονία καί Θράκη* 3 (1992 [1989]): 91-101; Dickie, 81-86, examines these further, placing them into a wider context of other leaf-shape *lamellae*.

[26] Dickie, 84-86.

Mysteries. Like the wreath, this item had decorative and symbolic purposes, but unlike the wreath, it was chiefly functional. Initiation allowed an individual to create a close connection to the mystery deities through a revelatory experience; therefore, an initiate in the Greek Mysteries was referred to as a *mystes*, a term that indicated that prior to initiation, the individual was "closed with respect to the eyes."[27] At least at Eleusis and Samothrace, the second-stage initiate was termed the *epoptes*, or "viewer," and presumably was allowed to see something that the *mystes* was not. The different experience of the two kinds of initiates may have been achieved through the covering of the eyes of first-stage initiates, demonstrated by images of initiates in various contexts covered by some kind of veil or cloth. A depiction of a shoeless, seated initiate undergoing purification is repeated in sculpted objects dating to the first three centuries A.D., though believed to be following a type of the fourth century B.C.[28] Though details of the scenes vary slightly, they all incorporate a male initiate with a cloth covering his head, face, and neck like a hood. This "blinded" initiate is undergoing a part of the initiation process; in some scenes he is purified by Persephone carrying torches, in others, a winnowing fan is held over his head. Further evidence is provided by one of the grotesque vases from the Theban Kabirion, which is illustrated with a figure who has been interpreted as a hooded initiate.[29] This individual is completely covered with a cloak, a wreath set over the cloak onto the covered head. Less certain evidence comes from a small Hellenistic terracotta figurine of which only the head remains. Found at the sanctuary of the Great Gods on Samothrace, it represents a female both veiled and wreathed, though the veil does not fully cover her face.[30] The Samothracian and Kabiric images combine the symbolic and functional aspects of adornment through their use of both wreaths and coverings.

During initiation, more general aspects of dress other than accessories such as wreaths and veils could also have significance. Clothing was not just important for initiates in this situation; other figures like priests and

[27] Kevin Clinton, "Stages of Initiation in the Eleusinian and Samothracian Mysteries," in *Greek Mysteries: The Archaeology and Ritual of Ancient Greek Secret Cults*, ed. Michael B. Cosmopoulos (London: Routledge, 2003), 50; on *mystes* and *epoptes*, 50-51.

[28] Ugo Bianchi, *The Greek Mysteries* (Leiden: Brill, 1976), 27-29, figures 47-52.

[29] Ibid., 30, figure 55a; Paul Wolters and Gerda Bruns, *Das Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben* 1 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1940), 106, plate 33, figure 3 and plate 53, figure 3.

[30] Karl Lehmann, *Samothrace: A Guide to the Excavations and the Museum*, 6th ed., rev. James R. McCredie (Thessaloniki: New York University Press, 1998), 41, figure 19.

priestesses also may have needed to wear certain clothing to play out their roles in the ritual. Many mystery cults are believed to have included the performance of a myth, perhaps a sort of passion play.[31] For example, at Eleusis, initiates searched for Kore while the priestesses re-enacted the suffering of the goddesses. Likewise, the cult of Isis included a search for Osiris, and at Samothrace, initiates searched for Harmonia. These performances must have required costuming for the religious officials who led the reenactment. How exactly they dressed in each case is unknown, but the sacred law of Andania provides some possible evidence from this particular cult. The rules state (lines 24-25):

> ὅσα<ς> δὲ δεῖ διασκευάζεσθαι εἰς θεῶν
> διάθεσιν, ἐχόντω τὸν εἱματισμόν, | καθ' ὃ
> ἂν οἱ ἱεροὶ διατάξωντι.
>
> Whichever women are to dress themselves in representation of the goddesses must wear the clothes that the sacred men order.

It is unclear from the text at what point in the initiation ritual this costuming would have occurred, or the kind of presentation of which it would have been a part, but it is fairly clear that this should be seen as generally related to other kinds of mystery enactments.[32]

The examples above underscore the clear connection of dress to cult activity, but additional significance could be applied to adornment because of the social nature of that activity. Festivals were public occasions, and various external social pressures were carried over into this religious realm. Although mystery cults did differ from other ancient cults by the requirement of initiation, they too were still communal activities, drawing together many pilgrims because of their popularity. For this reason, these festivals became occasions for display, especially for women who were given a rare opportunity to leave their homes for the purpose of gathering

[31] Examples of these performances (excluding Andania) are collected by Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood, "Festival and Mysteries: Aspects of the Eleusinian Cult," in *Greek Mysteries,* ed. Cosmopoulos, 25-49.

[32] Albert Schachter, "Evolutions of a Mystery Cult: The Theban Kabiroi," in *Greek Mysteries,* ed. Cosmopoulos, 132, with 140, note 17 places the costuming during the procession, but this reading of the text is not necessary; Connelly, *Portrait of a Priestess*, 106-7, referenced in the context of a longer discussion of priestesses imitating deities, 104-15.

together.[33] Unlike other social activities, the festival was communal on two levels; it incorporated the cult community in addition to the community of the *polis*. There were two kinds of hierarchies at work, and these hierarchies were made evident through the choices of clothing and adornment.

The text of the regulations of the Mysteries of Andania includes lengthy regulations that illustrate this kind of concern (lines 15-22):[34]

> ᵛεἱματισμοῦ. ᵛοἱ τελούμενοι τὰ μυστήρια
> ἀνυπόδετοι ἑστωσαν καὶ ἐχόντω τὸν |
> εἱματισμὸν λευκόν, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες μὴ διαφανῆ
> μηδὲ τὰ σαμεῖα ἐν τοῖς εἱματίοις πλατύτερα
> ἡμιδακτυλίου, καὶ αἱ | μὲν ἰδιώτιες ἐχόντω
> χιτῶνα λίνεον καὶ εἱμάτιον μὴ πλείονος ἄξια
> δραχμᾶν ἑκατόν, αἱ δὲ παῖδες καλάσηριν ἢ
> σιν|δονίταν καὶ εἱμάτιον μὴ πλείονος ἄξια
> μνᾶς, αἱ δὲ δοῦλαι καλάσηριν ἢ σινδονίταν
> καὶ εἱμάτιον μὴ πλείονος ἄξια δρα|χμᾶν
> πεντήκοντα· αἱ δὲ ἱεραί, αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες
> καλάσηριν ἢ ὑπόδυμα μὴ ἔχον σκιὰς καὶ
> εἱμάτιον μὴ πλέονος ἄξια δύο | μνᾶν, αἱ δὲ
> [παῖδε]ς καλάσηριν καὶ εἱμάτιον μὴ πλείονος
> ἄξια δραχμᾶν ἑκατόν· ἐν δὲ τᾶι πομπᾶι
> αἱ μὲν ἱεραὶ γυναῖκες ὑποδύ|ταν καὶ εἱμάτιον
> γυναικεῖον οὔλον, σαμεῖα ἔχον μὴ
> πλατύτερα ἡμιδακτυλίου, αἱ δὲ παῖδες
> καλάσηριν καὶ εἱμάτιον μὴ δια|φανές.
>
> Concerning Clothes: Those being initiated in the Mysteries must be barefoot and wear white clothes, the women wearing neither transparent clothes nor stripes on their himations more than half a *daktylos* wide. And the free adult

[33] The rarity of the opportunity and its effect on display through women's dress can be seen in the same light as the lack of modern formal occasions that make events like weddings and proms so focused on the adornment of the female: "Regardless of their significance as female rites of passage and in the case of weddings as legal and sacred commitments, these events are defining moments for most women in which dress, glamour, sexual desirability, and female identity are irretrievably fused." Parme Giuntini, "Iconically Yours," in *Garb: A Fashion and Culture Reader*, ed. Parme Giuntini and Kathryn Hagen (New Jersey: Pearson Education, Inc., 2008), 333.

[34] For a more detailed discussion of these clothing regulations, see Laura Gawlinski, "The Sacred Law of Andania: Sanctuary and Cult." (PhD diss., Cornell University, 2006), 109-28.

> women must wear a linen chiton and himation worth in total no more than 100 drachmas, the girls a *kalasiris* or a *sindonitis* and a himation worth in total no more than one mina, and the female slaves a *kalasiris* or a *sindonitis* and a himation worth in total no more than 50 drachmas. Of the sacred women, the adults must wear a *kalasiris* or *upoduma* without decorations and a himation worth in total no more than two minas, and the girls a *kalasiris* and himation worth in total no more than 100 drachmas. In the procession the sacred women must wear a *upodutas* and a wool woman's himation with stripes no more than half a *daktylos* wide, and the girls must wear a *kalasiris* and a himation that is not transparent.

This excerpt reveals that clothing was the primary method used to reveal information about a person at this festival; the position of each participant was reflected in what he or she was legally allowed to wear. Several kinds of differentiation through clothing were made, based on the festival event (initiation vs. procession): gender (male vs. female), age (women vs. girls), social status (free vs. slave), and religious status (initiates vs. sacred officials). Through the color, fabric, type, price, and number of garments, distinct aspects of a person's identity that the religious community felt to be important were simultaneously communicated. For example, by putting the prescribed dress onto a blank body, a person could then be recognized as an initiate, female, freeborn, and unmarried. Both social and religious hierarchies were in place in this community, and clothing easily allowed those hierarchies to be displayed visually.

The section of the clothing rules quoted above is followed by the next general admonition (lines 22-23):

> μὴ ἐχέτω δὲ μηδεμία χρυσία μηδὲ φῦκος μηδὲ ψιμίθιον μηδὲ ἀνάδεμα μηδὲ τὰς τρίχας ἀνπεπλεγμένας μηδὲ ὑπο|δήματα εἰ μὴ πίλινα ἢ δερμάτινα ἱερόθυτα.
>
> No woman is to have gold, rouge, white lead makeup, a hair band, plaited hair, or shoes unless of felt or sacrificial leather.[35]

[35] My interpretation of these lines differs from most others who read this prohibition and those that follow as pertaining to the procession. I do not think a close look at the Greek bears out that interpretation.

The reasons behind the banning of each of these adornments are complex. Previous discussions have tended to focus on either the limitation of public display or the control of female behavior as explanations for *all* the rules about adornment in this document. However, these regulations are far more complex and no one single purpose lies behind all the rules. Instead, what is revealed is a concern with status and ritual propriety in addition to the control of excess and the restraint of women, and the banning of many objects has more than one of these issues behind it.

The mention of gold and makeup brings to mind descriptions of *hetairai*, especially when taken with the regulations of transparent clothing and multiple garments above. *Hetairai* were described as wearing more and finer garments than the average (respectable) woman, and as spending a good deal of effort in making up their faces.[36] A Syracusan law recorded by Athenaeus (521 b) forbade any woman from wearing gold, flowery dresses, or purple borders unless she admitted to being a prostitute. When the women in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* (lines 42-53) formulate their plan to use their feminine wiles to stop the war, they intend to make use of bright clothing, makeup, perfume, and transparent tunics, thereby firmly connecting their tools to sexuality.[37] These sorts of items, then, have no place in this particular religious ritual. These regulations are not to be read as a ban on participation by *hetairai*, but rather as a way to enforce proper appearance, and, by extension, the behavior of all women at the festival.

The ban on ribbons and plaited hair has also usually been considered in terms of female beauty, and interpreted as intended to prevent the wearing of overly elaborate hairstyles. While that may be partially true, there are ritual considerations behind this as well. Generally women let their long hair go free at a festival, after constraining it in some way during the rest of their daily lives. Furthermore, this may be linked to a concern with binding and knots, since δέω, "to bind," is the root of *anadema*. Similarly, plaited hair, hair woven into itself, and therefore also bound, is forbidden. The power inherent in binding and knotting, clearly shown in magical spells, may be the strongest concern here.[38]

[36] Andrew Dalby, "Levels of Concealment: The Dress of Hetairai and Pornai in Greek Texts," in *Women's Dress in the Ancient Greek World*, ed. Llewellyn-Jones (London: Duckworth and the Classical Press of Wales, 2002), 111-24.

[37] For more on this theme in the play, see Sarah Culpepper Stroup, "Designing Women: Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* and the 'Hetairization' of the Greek Wife," *Arethusa* 37 (2004): 37-73.

[38] Curse tablets use formulae of cursing through binding. Some examples of knotting and tying in later magical spells can be found in Georg Luck, *Arcana Mundi: Magic and Occult in the Greek and Roman Worlds* (Baltimore: Johns

This is also the second time that shoes are mentioned; initiates have already been told to go barefoot (line 15). The shoelessness of the initiates is not difficult to explain here since the banning of shoes on sacred ground was not uncommon in other sacred laws, and is even found in other cultures. It has been suggested that at least one reason behind this general ban is that the dirtiness of shoes allows the passage of material between sacred and secular boundaries.[39] There is the further possibility that since most shoes were worn by tying or binding them to the feet, this regulation could also reflect anxiety about the magical connotations of binding. The wearing of shoes only if made of felt or leather, however, is more difficult to explain. Some ancient shoes were made of felt (usually worn indoors), but the material was more commonly used as a material for a kind of ancient sock, called a πίλος or ποδεῖον.[40] Perhaps the permission to wear felt shoes is related to the kind of idea that allows socks to be worn in a mosque where shoes are prohibited. That leather that originated in sacrificial ritual would be the most appropriate for use in future rituals is obviously the main point behind the other part of this rule. In addition, leather was frequently imported, probably making the source difficult to know for certain. It is possible that another purpose of this rule was to keep out fancy foreign shoes—another control of display.

At first reading, the clothing rules, taken as a whole, appear proscriptive, as they certainly prevent some women from wearing certain things, and all women from wearing others. However, they can also be seen as prescriptive, as the rules are just as much about creating a specialized costume for the different categories of women. For example, although the size of the stripes on the himations of the women is limited, it should be recognized that the underlying point is that all women will be wearing striped himations. Having a specified costume for the women was probably aesthetically pleasing (especially in the very visual procession), and the specific outfits marking certain classes of women made them immediately recognizable. Furthermore, the potential cost of clothing is not particularly small for any group, and could have encouraged, rather than limited, spending. The focus on reading these rules for women's dress

Hopkins University Press, 1985), 91-92, no. 16; 67-71, no. 4, and Daniel Ogden, *Magic, Witchcraft, and Ghosts in the Greek and Roman Worlds: A Sourcebook* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 113-14, no. 90; 264, no. 254. For *anadema*, see Cleland, *The Brauron Clothing Catalogues*, 108.

[39] Sue Blundell, "Clutching at Clothes," in *Women's Dress in the Ancient Greek World*, ed. Llewellyn-Jones, 149-50, with 165, note 23.

[40] Katherine Dohan Morrow, *Greek Footwear and the Dating of Sculpture* (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 182.

as part of the wider system of regulation and control of women (though they certainly are) has clouded the other aspect of public clothing—communication.[41]

As exemplified in the special dress of the sacred women and girls at Andania, it is clear that in addition to an external social hierarchy, the cult community also had its own hierarchy. The participants in the rites had different functions, and clothing served to mark those functions. Christopher Jones has pointed out in his work on processions in later periods that "...the preponderant processional colors are white and purple; white is almost always worn by groups...Purple is the color of individuals."[42] White is the color of participants rather than leaders. This color in general has connotations of purity, but the effect of having a mass of followers all dressed in this same color was a visual one as well since it creates a group visibly united as one and the same. This is the color the initiates into the Mysteries of Andania are told to wear (lines 15-16), and it appears to have had a special significance for other initiation ceremonies as well. Tertullian noted the white color of the clothing of the initiates of Ceres, *candidatum* (*De Pallio* 4.10.10; see above). The flowing crowd of Isis initiates in Apuleius's *Metamorphoses* is also marked by white dress in a description that focuses on the unity and conformity of the group despite their differences, now that they are interconnected through initiation (11.10):

> Tunc influunt turbae sacris divinis initiatae,
> viri feminaeque omnis dignitatis et omnis
> aetatis, linteae vestis candore puro luminosi.
>
> Then the crowds of those initiated into the divine Mysteries flooded in, men and women of all ranks and all ages, glowing with the pure white of their linen clothes.

Purple, on the other hand, was a special color; its expense relegated its use to those who could afford it and marked one out as such.[43] It could

[41] This focus on controlling women is no surprise since the clothing regulations are followed by an oath taken by the official called the *gynaikonomos* (lines 26-28).

[42] Christopher Jones, "Processional Colors," in *The Art of Ancient Spectacle* (*Studies in the History of Art 56, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts Symposium Papers 34*), ed. Bettina Bergmann and Christine Kondoleon (New Haven: Yale University Press, in association with the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 1999), 251.

[43] Meyer Reinhold, *History of Purple as a Status Symbol in Antiquity* (*Collection Latomus 116*) (Brussels: Latomus, 1970), 28-29.

therefore also be used in socio-religious situations to mark out members of the religious hierarchy. This dichotomy of leaders who stand out from the faceless crowd holds true in many Mysteries as well. The two most important officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries were the hierophant, who revealed the sacred objects to the initiates, and the dadouchos, who carried the torch at the head of the procession. The special dress worn by these religious officials to set themselves apart was so flashy that it was thought to be influenced by the dramatic stage; Athenaeus (I.21 e) reports a tradition that Aeschylus made their outfits. A later dedication made by a hierophant from the deme of Hagnous in the second century A.D. shows the dedicator approaching the Goddesses covered by a cloak and wearing high, decorative boots.[44] No color is preserved, but from other sources it is known that the costume was also marked by its use of conspicuous color: the hierophant wore *phoinikides*, red or purple cloaks.[45] The dadouchos was also set apart by fancy dress, a portion of which was also probably purple. A fifth-century B.C. red figure stamnos found in an Eleusinian grave depicts a dadouchos, carrying his torches, followed by an initiate (Fig. 5-4).[46] The dadouchos is clearly identified iconographically by his torches, while the initiate who follows wears the wreath and carries the bound-up initiate staff. Both are barefoot, but other aspects of their dress set them apart. The initiate is adorned with a wreath, and his himation is plain, outlined with simple black lines. But the dadouchos in front of him wears a thick band on his head with bits of myrtle from a wreath sticking out from underneath. His garment is more elaborate, probably made up of several pieces, the decoration of the outermost indicated by little circular patterns. The opposing status of the two is made clear through dress.

[44] The stele remains without formal publication but is illustrated by Clinton, *The Sacred Officials*, 34, figure 3.
[45] Ibid., 32-33; For the color, see Cleland, *The Brauron Clothing Catalogues*, 124-25.
[46] Also discussed by Mylonas, 209-10. The arm visible on the left of the photo belongs to a figure identified as Persephone.

Fig. 5-4: Eleusis Inv. No. 636, Dadouchos and Initiate. Courtesy Archaeological Museum of Eleusis.

Although there is no information about the dress of the hierophant in the rules for the Andanian Mysteries, there are references to the use of the color purple. It is specifically mentioned twice, first as it pertains to accoutrements of the sacred women (lines 23-24), and then as the color of the headwear of a group of officials called the Ten (lines 177-179):

δίφρους δὲ ἐχόντω αἱ ἱεραὶ εὐσυίνους
στρογγύλους καὶ ἐπ' [α]ὐτῶν
ποτικεφάλαια | ἢ σπῖραν λευκά, μὴ ἔχοντα
μήτε σκιὰν μητέ πορφύραν.

The sacred women must have round wicker stools with
white pillows or a round cushion on them,
having neither a decoration nor purple color.

φορούντω δὲ οἱ | δέκα ἐν τοῖς μυστηρί|οις
στρόφιον πορφύριον.

The Ten must wear a purple *strophion* during the Mysteries.

These two references show the use of this special color. The Ten were a group of officials chosen from those who had been sacred men in the past; their duty was to oversee all aspects of the Mysteries. They were already remarkable for their wearing of the *strophion*, a sacral headdress, but then were made even more noticeable by the color chosen for the headdress itself.[47] It is further made clear that only the Ten are marked in this way, since the color is forbidden on the pillows of the sacred women. The high officials of these Mysteries were made to stand out, while the women were being warned against doing so. Although the sacred women were visually more prominent than initiate women, slaves, and younger women, they were not at the very top of the hierarchy, and were not permitted to be as conspicuous as those who were.

It is unmistakable from the examples above that adornment had multiple roles to play during festivals that involved initiation, reflecting the religious and social concerns of the group drawn together in worship. The final way that dress was associated with these festivals was as a lingering evidence of initiation, a sign that continued after the act to mark one as an initiate. Adornment, then, was not just important during the actual ritual, but could become an important issue for an individual long after initiation.

Some of the ways adornment was used after initiation have already been referenced in passing. First, there may have been a tradition of clothing dedication. An individual might offer his initiation clothing to the Goddesses on a subsequent trip to Eleusis, showing a lasting importance of those clothes and their incorporation into a new ritual. The gold *lamellae* given to initiates of Dionysos and Orpheus had a functional purpose since they were inscribed with important messages. The piercing of some *lamellae* found in graves may indicate that they were worn by the initiate, providing convenient access to them after death.[48] The proud parents of an Initiate from the Hearth might set up a dedication that presented an image of their child, wreathed, as an everlasting monument to her initiation. The importance of that wreath in the ceremony is what made it a meaningful attribute that immediately communicated the type of dedication. On the other hand it was continual refusal of the wreath by the Mithras initiate

[47] This band was worn by a number of priests in antiquity, but its use and color here may represent an attempt to link the Andania cult to the more famous Eleusinian one through reference to the *strophion* and outfit of the hierophant of the Eleusinian Mysteries.

[48] Some of the *lamellae* were placed in the mouth, however, so they were not always worn. Dickie, 82, includes some examples of known findspots.

that marked him as such; in this case an absence of adornment was his symbol.

The Mysteries of the Great Gods on Samothrace offer more examples of the continued significance of items of adornment after initiation. In those Mysteries, wearable items probably given to the initiate during the mystery rite stayed with that person, both as a reminder of the special gifts that had been received, and a continuous marker of the initiation. The two objects were a purple sash and an iron ring. Both seem to have functional aspects like the worn gold *lamellae*, but they certainly would have symbolically marked the wearer as well.

In the *Argonautica* of Apollonius, the Argonauts stop at Samothrace in order to gain the benefit of protection at sea through initiation into the Mysteries there (1.915-921). In discussing that passage, scholiasts note that Samothracian initiates tied a purple fillet (*tainia*) around their waists, a fillet which one scholiast remarks they received during the initiation.[49] The purple fillet did not simply symbolize initiation; when it was worn by the initiate when trouble arose, it also provided direct access to the power of the initiation deities. The scholiasts further tie stories of Odysseus and Agamemnon to the ritual: Odysseus used a veil instead of a fillet when trapped in a sea storm (*Od.* 5.346-347) and Agamemnon carried a purple cloak through the sea of chaotic men at Troy (*Il.* 8.220-221). Although the Homeric poems offer no indication that these heroes were initiates, the scholiast can read these actions as such because the act of wearing (usually by binding) and the color of the fillet were the significant factors in the efficacy of the Samothracian *tainia*.

The second item was an iron ring, several of which have been uncovered on the island, both in the sanctuary and in burials. This ring, likely presented during initiation, has been associated with references to magnetic stone located on Samothrace, and it has even been suggested that a demonstration of magnetism played a part in initiation.[50] A passage of Lucretius gives a colorful image (6.1044-1047; trans. N. Lewis):[51]

> Exultare etiam Samothracia ferrea vidi
> et ramenta simul ferri furere intus ahenis
> in scaphiis, lapis hic magnes cum subditus esset;

[49] These passages are collected and translated by Naphtali Lewis, *The Ancient Literary Sources* (*Samothrace*, vol 1) (New York: Pantheon Books, 1958), 107-8, nos. 229g-h.

[50] Susan Guettel Cole, *Theoi Megaloi: The Cult of the Great Gods at Samothrace* (Leiden: Brill, 1984), 30.

[51] Lewis, 96, no. 212.

usque adeo fugere a saxo gestire videtur.

I have also seen Samothracian iron [rings] dance and iron filings go mad in bronze basins when this magnet stone was applied underneath, so passionately does the iron seem to struggle to escape from the stone.

This ring, which continued to be worn by initiates after the initiation, was another reminder of their connection to the deities of Samothrace.

During all parts of the mystery ritual and beyond, the adornment of the participants had a consciously constructed meaning, both religious and social. The variety of uses of dress in the context of initiation was a microcosm of the meanings of clothing in ancient Greece. Dress communicated what was important about the identity of the wearer to the viewer, and what was important at any moment varied. It allowed individuals to present themselves as pious followers of religious rules, outstanding members of the cult community, or citizens of the right age. Inclusion or exclusion from a particular group, whether that group was based on gender, wealth, or initiation, could also be expressed. The window into the ancient Mysteries provided by material, epigraphic, and literary sources is additionally a window into the communicative powers of adornment.

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CHAPTER SIX

SACERDOTAL ACTIVITIES AND PARTHIAN DRESS IN ROMAN PALMYRA

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In this essay I examine the dress worn by the men depicted in the funerary sculpture from Palmyra, a city in the Syrian steppe that flourished during the Roman period. Several hundred relief busts, as well as many banquet reliefs, have been excavated from tombs which were in use in the first three centuries A.D. The individual relief busts were used to seal the burial niches (*loculi*) in the tombs, while the banquet reliefs were displayed on the façade or in prominent locations inside the tomb. Interesting differences are seen in the costume choices of those depicted in these banquet scenes as opposed to those in the portrait busts. Most of the males featured in the bust form are wearing "Greco-Roman" dress: a short-sleeved tunic, over which a cloak is draped in the arm-sling arrangement so characteristic of Roman funerary reliefs of the late Republic and early Empire (Fig. 6-1). In contrast, the majority of men who are shown reclining in the banquet reliefs are wearing "Parthian" dress: a long-sleeved tunic, belted at the waist, and worn over loose trousers. Both the tunic and trousers are usually decorated with bands of embroidery, and a long or short cloak is often worn over the whole ensemble (Fig. 6-2). In the past, scholars have postulated that this choice of Parthian costume for the main reclining figure in the banquet scenes reflected a desire to be portrayed in fancier dress.[1] Although the so-called Parthian attire is indisputably more ornate, the reduction of its symbolism to a simple dichotomy of fancy vs. plain does not account for the power of dress in the creation of self-identity. Given that these reliefs were produced in the

[1] Harald Ingholt, *Palmyrene and Gandharan Sculpture, An Exhibition Illustrating the Cultural Interrelations Between the Parthian Empire and Its Neighbors West and East, Palmyra and Gandhara* (Yale University, 1954), 8; Malcolm A.R. Colledge, *The Art of Palmyra* (London: Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1976), 74.

centuries following the Roman conquest of this region, greater understanding of the importance and symbolism of dress in Roman Palmyra is essential in order to appreciate the complex social situation in a cross-cultural world.

Fig. 6-1 Palmyrene funerary portrait. Courtesy University of Pennsylvania Museum (image #8043).

Current explanations of change in the Roman Empire focus on the negotiation of identity at the local level; in particular by those groups who wished to retain or to create positions of power in society.[2] The quantity and quality of the Palmyrene funerary portraits make them an ideal

[2] There is a large corpus of scholarship on the elite of the Roman Empire. Some of the more recent publications include: Ray Laurence and Joanne Berry, eds., *Cultural Identity in the Roman Empire* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998); Greg Woolf, *Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Simon Keay and Nicola Terrenato, eds., *Italy and the West: Comparative Issues in Romanization* (Oxford: Oxbow, 2001); David Mattingly, "Being Roman, expressing identity in a provincial setting," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 17 (2004): 5-25; Richard Hingley, *Globalizing Roman Culture; Unity, Diversity and Empire* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005).

medium through which to study elite activity in the Roman East. The tradition of this type of portraiture began after the Roman incorporation of the area, and it was very likely adopted as part of the creation and negotiation of identity vis-à-vis the Romans by the elite members of Palmyrene society.[3] Corroboration for this viewpoint is found in the similarities of stance, pose, and gesture in the portraiture from the two cities.[4] It is perhaps this striking resemblance between the Roman and the Palmyrene funerary busts which makes the banquet relief stand out all the more. Not only is the medium different, but the preferred dress is also distinctly not Greco-Roman. It is important to remember, however, that the Romans were not the only audience for these wealthy Palmyrenes: their own peers would have played a part, as well as the Parthians with whom they traded. Thus, to reduce the motivation for costume choice to a decision between Greco-Roman or Parthian is probably as deficient in terms of explanation as fancy vs. plain. Both dichotomies oversimplify the local social situation where a variety of factors would have enhanced one's social status and a multiplicity of identities was possible.[5] Indeed, a survey of the evidence for dress in the tombs and sanctuaries of the city clearly shows that certain types of dress signaled the participation of the deceased in the ritual activities of the city. By advertising his involvement in these activities, the wealthy Palmyrene was attempting to boost his social status.

Banquet Reliefs

A good example of the Palmyrene banquet relief is found today in the courtyard of the Palmyra Museum (Fig. 6-2). The scene features a reclining male, identified in the inscription as "Barateh, son of Barnabou," who reclines with his brothers behind him, and his mother at the end of the couch (1m, 78 wide, and 0m, 85 high).[6] Barateh lounges with his left elbow on an embroidered cushion. He holds a cup in his left hand, and his

[3] The earliest dated example of this type of Palmyrene portrait dates to 65 A.D.: Harald Ingholt, "Some Sculptures from the Tomb of Malkû at Palmyra," in *Mélanges offerts à Kazimierz Michalowski* (Warsaw: Panstwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1966), 465.

[4] For the Roman portraiture, see Diana E. E. Kleiner, *Roman Group Portraiture; The Funerary Reliefs of the Late Republic and Early Empire* (New York & London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1977).

[5] Kevin Butcher, *Roman Syria and the Near East* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2003), 279.

[6] *PAT* 587; J.-B. Chabot, *Choix d'inscriptions de Palmyre* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1922), 111-12, pl. 27.

right hand rests on his right knee. He is wearing the Parthian dress described above, as well as chaps over his trousers, and soft, embroidered shoes. Attached on the right shoulder with a fibula is a riding cloak, also decorated with embroidery. On his head, he is wearing a tall, cylindrical cap known as a *modius*, which has been identified as the priestly headgear at Palmyra.[7] Barateh's *modius* is adorned with a wreath and a small bust.

Fig. 6-2 Palmyrene banquet relief. Courtesy Palmyra Museum (A 218).

The inscription to the right of Barateh's head identifies him, just as the inscriptions near the heads of those men standing behind him identify them as Barateh's brothers. In contrast to their recumbent brother, all three of the standing males wear the Greco-Roman tunic and cloak, with the right arm in the sling created by the draping of the cloak. There is a woman seated in a chair at the end of the couch who is identified as their mother. She is wearing the typical dress for Palmyrene women: a long tunic, over which a cloak is draped and attached at the left shoulder with a fibula.

Sculptural groups, such as this one of the family of Barateh, appear in a number of different places and forms in the Palmyrene tombs, but always in locations which would indicate that this scene was a powerful symbol of prestige. It first appears on the façade of tower tombs early in the first century A.D., with the earliest example believed to be the banquet relief

[7] Harald Ingholt, "Palmyrene Sculptures in Beirut," *Berytus* 1 (1934): 33-35.

on the façade of the Tower Tomb of Kithôt, dated by an inscription to 40 A.D.[8] This tower tomb is located in the so-called "Valley of the Tombs," west of the city. Yon has argued that the elite of the city would have jockeyed for position in order to build their tombs in this prominent area, thereby using the tomb to advertise their wealth and social status.[9] Corroborating Yon's argument, the banquet relief, framed by an arched recess, is placed high on the north-east facade of the tomb, facing the main route in and out of the city.[10] The unusual location of this sculptural group—it is normally found over the ground-floor entrance, which would have faced south-east in the case of Kithôt's tomb—makes it quite clear that Kithôt wanted the banquet relief to be seen. The other side of the tomb, where the door is found, was left without decoration.[11] Niches which probably once contained banquet scenes similar to that on the facade of the Tomb of Kithôt are also seen on the Tower Tomb of Ogeilû, dated to 73 A.D., the Tower Tomb of Iamlichus, 83 A.D., and the Tower Tomb of Elahbêl, 103 A.D.[12] The position of the inscriptions on these tombs—in the same place as the inscription of Kithôt, under the banquet relief—further emphasizes the importance of the scene.

When these banquet scenes are placed inside the tombs early in the second century A.D.,[13] they retain their prominent position, placed in specially built niches or highly visible exedrae. In some cases, the banquet relief would have been the first thing which was seen upon entering the tomb.[14] Further evidence for the importance of these scenes is found in the positioning of the individual portrait busts. In the rare instances when the portraits are found *in situ* (or when their original position can be

[8] Ernst Will, "Le relief de la tour de Kithôt et le banquet funéraire à Palmyre," *Syria* 28 (1951): 70.
[9] Jean-Baptiste Yon, "La présence des notables dans l'espace périurbain à Palmyre," in *Construction, reproduction, et représentation des Patriciats urbains de l'Antiquité au XXe siècle* (Tours, 1999), 388.
[10] Michal Gawlikowski, *Monuments funéraires de Palmyre* (Warszawa: Editions Scientifiques de Pologne, 1970), 147-48.
[11] Krzysztof C. Makowski, "La sculpture funéraire palmyrénienne et sa fonction dans l'architecture sépulcrale," *Studia Palmyrenskie. Etudes Palmyréniennes* 8 (1985): 72-73.
[12] Will, "Le relief de la Tour de Kithôt," 84; "La tour funéraire de Palmyre," *Syria* 26 (1949): 99.
[13] Colledge, 73.
[14] For example: the Hypogeum of Bolbarak (Anna Sadurska and Adnan Bounni, *Les sculptures funéraires de Palmyre* [Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 1994], 148); and the Hypogeum of the family of Artaban, son of 'Ogga (Sadurska and Bounni, 39).

determined), they are clustered in the same areas of the tomb as the banquet scenes.[15]

The banquet scenes inside the tomb are carved in high relief either on flat rectangular limestone slabs or on L-shaped slabs (when functioning as sarcophagus lids). A variation of the large-scale banquet scene is the miniature banquet scene (Fig. 6-3). These scenes are carved on limestone slabs no bigger than those which sealed the *loculi*, and most commonly feature only the main reclining figure, with a servant or two standing at his feet. This miniature banquet scene appears in the mid-second century, though most of the examples date to the third century A.D.[16] Its appearance is thought to indicate the popularization of an elite motif.[17]

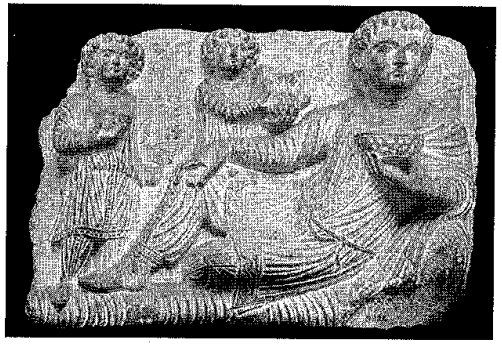

Fig. 6-3 Miniature banquet relief. Courtesy University of Pennsylvania Museum (image #8043).

When carved on the flat slab, the large-scale banquet relief was often placed on top of another slab, which was carved to look like a couch. As would be expected, when the banquet scene served as the lid of the

[15] For example: the Hypogeum of Bôlhâ, son of Nebôsûrî (Sadurska and Bounni, 70); the Hypogeum of Iarhai, son of Barikhi (Amy and Seyrig, "Recherches," 233-34); the Hypogeum of Šalamallat, son of Malikû (Sadurska and Bounni, 149-51); and the Hypogeum of the family of Artaban, son of 'Ogga (Sadurska and Bounni, 25).
[16] Colledge, 78-79.
[17] Krzysztof C. Makowski, "Recherches sur le banquet miniaturisé dans l'art funéraire de Palmyre," *Studia Palmyrenskie. Etudes Palmyréniennes* 8 (1985): 129.

sarcophagus, the sarcophagus itself was carved to look like a couch.[18] Busts of family members were placed in the space between the carved legs of this couch, in addition to the family members who were grouped around the reclining figure in the banquet scene above. Occasionally, figured scenes would appear in this space between the legs of the couch, such as groups of men wearing matching dress and seemingly involved in the preparations for a banquet. These fascinating and enigmatic scenes will be discussed later.

Despite the variety of places and forms for this popular banquet motif, a few things remain more or less constant. The main figure is usually male, reclining on an embroidered cushion on his left side, with his left leg tucked under his raised right leg, and a bowl or cup in his left hand.[19] His family, in a smaller scale, is depicted around him, with his wife seated at his feet, and his children behind him. More members of the family are often depicted in the busts between the legs of the couch. Finally, the main reclining figure more frequently wears Parthian dress, over which either a long cloak would be draped, or a shorter cloak attached on the right shoulder with a fibula. The frequency with which the Parthian dress appears is revealed by a brief survey of fourteen underground tombs where banquet scenes were found.[20] Fifty reclining males are depicted in these

[18] Very rarely, the banquet scene would be carved on the front of the sarcophagus. There exist only two examples of this type. One was found in the underground tomb of Lišamš (Ingholt, "Inscriptions and Sculptures," 107). The second example, dated to 249/50 A.D., was found in a temple tomb (#173b) (Gawlikowski, *Monuments funéraires*, 133, n.15).

[19] Though there are a few examples of banquet reliefs in which a woman reclines, one example is found in the Hypogeum of Ta'aî, and depicts a sister and brother reclining together (Jacques Charles-Gaffiot, Henri Lavagne, and Jean-Marc Hofman, eds., *Moi, Zénobie reine de Palmyre* [Paris: 2001], 367, fig. 255); a second, featuring a woman reclining alone, is a miniature banquet scene, located today in the Damascus Museum (Colledge, pl. 107).

[20] In the SE necropolis: **Hypogeum of Bôlhâ, son of Nebôsûrî** (Sadurska and Bounni, 70-90); **Hypogeum of the family of Barîkî, son of Zebida** (Sadurska and Bounni, 102-12); **Hypogeum of the family of Artaban, son of 'Ogga** (Sadurska and Bounni, 23-40). In the Valley of the Tombs: **Hypogeum of Iarhai, son of Barikhi** (Amy and Seyrig, 1936: 229; Seyrig, 1950: 250-52); **Hypogeum of the family of Bolbarak** (Sadurska and Bounni, 142-48); **Hypogeum of Šalamallat, son of Malikû** (Sadurska and Bounni, 149-71); **Hypogeum of 'Alainê, son of Hairan** (Sadurska, 1977; Sadurska and Bounni, 172-79). In the SW necropolis: **Hypogeum of Malkû** (Harald Ingholt, "Five Dated Tombs from Palmyra," *Berytus* 2 [1935]: 90-108; "Palmyrene Inscriptions from the Tomb of Malkû," in *Mélanges offerts au Père René Mouterde* [Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1962], 99-120; "The Sarcophagus of Be'elai and Other Sculptures from the Tomb of Malku, Palmyra," *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 45 [1970]: 173-200; "Some Sculptures from the Tomb of Malkû at Palmyra," *Mélanges offerts à Kazimierz Michalowski* [Warsaw: Panstwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1966], 457-76; "Varia Tadmorea," in *Palmyre: Bilan et perspectives* [Strasbourg: 1976], 101-37); **Hypogeum of Yarhai, 'Atenuri and Zabdibôl** (Ingholt, "Inscriptions and Sculptures," 93-103); **Tomb of the Three Brothers** (Sadurska and Bounni, 117-21); **Hypogeum of Julius Aurelius Malê** (Ingholt, "Five Dated Tombs from Palmyra," *Berytus* 2 [1935]: 75-90); **Hypogeum of 'Abd 'astôr** (Ingholt, "Inscriptions and Sculptures," 119-40); **Hypogeum of 'Atenatan** (Ingholt, "Five Dated Tombs," 58-75); **Hypogeum of Lišamš** (Ingholt, "Inscriptions and Sculptures," 106-19).

scenes: thirty-four of them are in Parthian dress; sixteen are in the Greco-Roman tunic and cloak. Thus, those in Parthian dress outnumber those in the Greco-Roman tunic by a ratio of more than two-to-one.

Styles of Dress

As stated in the introduction, the widely accepted explanation for this choice of dress for the reclining figure is that the Parthian attire is fancier: "Parthian costume is far and away his favorite fashion. The rarer Greek costume, or Greek himation worn over a Parthian tunic, offers less opportunity for decorative display."[21] A similar explanation, stressing the opportunities for embellishment, is offered by Goldman:

> The visual richness of the Iranian suit and the opportunities it presented for decorative touches—couched embroidery or brocade, woven patterns, applied strips, rows of beading, shirring—makes the Roman tunic and mantle conservative and modest by comparison. That fact may be partially responsible for the affectation of a working Iranian's riding suit's losing its utility and becoming high style and hence the expensive wear of the upper-class layman or priest reclining in elegant leisure on his upholstered couch. (Comparison with our contemporary transformation of workmen's blue denims into designer jeans is inevitable.)[22]

Given that many of these banqueting groups were produced early in the third century A.D.,[23] at a time when Palmyrene women were wearing more jewelry in their portraits,[24] such a predilection for more ornate dress

[21] Colledge, 74.

[22] Bernard Goldman, "Graeco-Roman Dress in Syro-Mesopotamia," in *The World of Roman Costume*, eds., Judith Lynn Sebesta and Larissa Bonfante (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), 166.

[23] Colledge, 75.

[24] Ibid., 71-2.

should not be totally discounted. Indeed, the more ornate the dress, the wealthier the subject of the relief might seem.

But the possibility that these men might be advertising their social status by means of more than just ornate dress should be considered, especially since the medium alone demonstrated that the patron had ample wealth. Also, in certain cases, such as the Hypogeum of Šalamallat, the quality of the portraits, as well as the quantity of jewelry worn by the women, would seem to indicate a high degree of wealth,[25] and yet the reclining figure in the banquet relief is depicted in the Greco-Roman tunic and cloak. In other tombs, the different styles of dress worn by members of the same family further disprove the idea that wealth was the principal factor in choosing Parthian dress.[26] This dissimilarity of dress among family members is true both for those who stand behind the reclining figure as well as those who are recumbent. An example of the first scenario is seen in the previously described funerary relief of Barateh and his brothers (Fig. 6-2). Barateh, who is reclining, is wearing Parthian dress, and his brothers, who stand behind him, are wearing the Greco-Roman tunic and cloak. On a sarcophagus from the west exedra of the Hypogeum of Iarhai, two men recline side by side in the same banquet scene, but they wear different dress. One of the reclining figures is wearing the Greco-Roman tunic and cloak, and the other is wearing Parthian attire.[27]

An interesting pattern emerges when two men are depicted reclining together, wearing different styles of dress: the man in the Parthian dress is always placed in the front, with the one in Greco-Roman reclining behind him.[28] One would like to correlate this preferential seating with seniority of some sort (and then extrapolate from that regarding the choice of dress), but evidence from several of the tombs indicates that the man reclining in the second position is older. For example, in one of the banquet scenes from the Hypogeum of 'Alainê, son of Hairan, both reclining men wear Parthian dress, but the gentleman in the second position is depicted with

[25] Sadurska and Bounni, 151.

[26] It also appears that workshops did not specialize in one style of dress: "Some patterns may be the result of particular sculpture workshops concentrating on mass production of images with certain styles of clothing, but private demands are likely to have shaped the canons of the workshops, and in some cases the same style or hand is evident for sculptures in both Greek and Parthian modes of dress" (Butcher, 329).

[27] Seyrig, "Armes et costumes," 5-6.

[28] Examples: scenes from Hypogeum of Yarhai, 'Atenuri, and Zabdibôl; Hypogeum of Abd 'astor; and Hypogeum of Lišamš.

wrinkles on his face.[29] In the Hypogeum of Bôlhâ, son of Nebôsûrî, there are two banquet scenes depicting a father and son reclining together. Although they wear similar dress (one pair in Greco-Roman, the other in Parthian), in both cases inscriptional evidence indicates that the son reclines in front of the father. It is also interesting to note that, in both cases, the son wears the *modius*, and the father does not.

Another interesting pattern in terms of dress becomes apparent for the men who stand behind the reclining figure in the banquet scene: Greco-Roman dress seems to be the norm for these men (as seen on the relief of the family of Barateh). The exception to this rule is very telling: on the rare occasion when the flanking figures do wear Parthian dress, they are frequently holding items suitable for a banquet. For example, the young men wearing Parthian dress in a banquet relief from the Hypogeum of 'Alainê, son of Hairan, hold banqueting items.[30] Similarly attired young men holding items for a banquet also appear in some of the miniature banquet scenes (Fig. 6-3). This striking correlation between matching attire and attributes associated with banqueting is also observed in the figural scenes which were occasionally rendered on the sarcophagus.

As mentioned above, rather than busts of family members, a row of five or six standing young men would sometimes appear on the sides of the sarcophagus. These figural scenes are interesting for a number of reasons. First, the young men, or "pages," as they are called, usually wear identical dress, be it a short tunic, belted at the waist, or the now familiar Parthian attire.[31] Additional common features for these young men include a clean-shaven appearance, and a full head of curly hair. In terms of attributes, the men in both styles of dress hold items appropriate for a banquet, such as cups, jars, plates of fruit, etc., but those in Parthian attire are frequently further distinguished by wearing a long sword on their right side. A somewhat more unusual example is seen on the front of a sarcophagus from the exedra of Julius Aurelius Maqqai in the Hypogeum of 'Atenatan.[32] The young men, who wear Parthian attire and sport the usual curly hair style, hold hunting tools rather than banqueting objects, and are accompanied by a horse.

Young men who are dressed in the same way appear in relief on various fragmentary stelae of uncertain provenance.[33] The example seen

[29] Sadurska and Bounni, 177.

[30] Sadurska, 1976; Sadurska and Bounni, 172-79

[31] Colledge, 78.

[32] Ingholt, "Five Dated Tombs," 58-75

[33] Several examples of such stelae depicting young men in Parthian dress are displayed at the Louvre: AO 15556 and AO 4084 (Jacqueline Dentzer-Feydy and

here depicts a young man carrying a miniature panther on a platter (Fig. 6-4).[34] A similar "offering" is held by another young man in a stele from the Palmyra Museum.[35] An associated relief depicts a young man carrying a lamb, which appears to be still alive.[36] As Yon points out, the presence of the panther would seem to indicate that the allusion is to a ritual offering rather than an actual banquet.[37]

The relationship of these young men to the reclining figure is unclear. Ingholt argued that they were servants because they lack an identifying inscription.[38] But why would someone of presumably high status wear the same dress as his subordinates? Also, as pointed out by Will, a young man in one of these figural scenes has a *clavus* on his tunic, which makes it likely that he belonged to a high ranking family.[39]

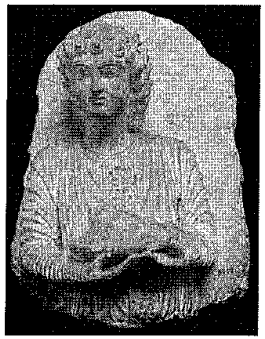

Fig. 6-4 Palmyrene "page". Courtesy University of Pennsylvania Museum (image #8040).

Perhaps the solution is not to devalue the costume, but rather to understand why all of these men are dressed alike. Both the reclining

Javier Teixidor, *Les antiquités de Palmyre au Musée du Louvre* [Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1993], Cat. 194 and 220).
[34] Leon Legrain, *The Museum Journal*, vol. 18, no. 4 (1927): 338.
[35] Palmyra Museum B 9200/2470: Charles-Gaffiot, Lavagne, and Hofman, 345, fig. 156.
[36] Palmyra Museum B 9201/2471: Ibid, 345, fig. 157.
[37] Ibid., 345.
[38] Ingholt, "Five Dated Tombs," 73.
[39] Will, "Le relief de la tour de Kithôt," 98, n. 2.

position of the main figure, as well as the attributes often held by the young men, suggest that the significance of the costume is closely linked with a banquet. Furthermore, the probability that it is the same kind of banquet is strengthened not only by the matching dress, but also by occasional visual links between the ancillary figures and the reclining figure. For example, in the figural scene on the front of the sarcophagus in the Hypogeum of Lišamš, the young man to the side lifts his jug as if to pour the liquid into the dish held in the left hand of the recumbent figure.[40] Thus it seems likely that the choice of Parthian dress is connected to the banquet.

Banquets in Palmyra

The significance of the banquet scene in the Palmyrene tomb is somewhat enigmatic. Although it became popular in the third century to place several banquet scenes together to resemble an actual triclinium in the tomb,[41] the general consensus among scholars is that a funerary banquet is not depicted.[42] Such a conclusion makes more acceptable one man's decision to be depicted with his horse,[43] and another's to include both his current and deceased wives in the same scene.[44] Alternatively, a banquet in the afterworld also seems unlikely since some of those depicted are described (in the accompanying inscriptions) as still being alive when the relief was carved.[45] As a result, most scholars have come to the conclusion that the banquet motif served as a convenient excuse to place the family together, dressed in their finest attire.[46] The scene would thus be a "sculptural memorial" of the happy family life.[47]

Certainly, it is plausible that a Palmyrene would want to emphasize the strength of his family, but the banqueting motif seems superfluous to such

[40] Ingholt, "Inscriptions and Sculptures," 118.
[41] Colledge, 75.
[42] Henri Seyrig, "Le repas des morts et le "banquet funèbre" à Palmyre," *Annales archéologiques arabes syriennes* 21 (1971): 67-70; Will, "Tour de Kithot," 96-98.
[43] Sarcophagus from Funerary Temple n. 176: Andreas Schmidt-Colinet and Khaled As'ad, "Kulturbegegnung im Grenzbereich," *Palmyra: Kulturbegegnung im Grenzbereich*, ed. Andreas Schmidt-Colinet, (Mainz: Ph. von Zabern, 1995), 36.
[44] The current and deceased wives are seen on opposite sides of the banquet relief in the Hypogeum of the family of Bolbarak, (Sadurska and Bounni, 148).
[45] Colledge, 132.
[46] Makowski, "La sculpture funéraire," 116; Sadurska and Bounni, 175.
[47] Ingholt, "The Sarcophagus of Be'elai and Other Sculptures from the Tomb of Malku, Palmyra," *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 45 (1970): 182-83.

a statement. One cannot help but think that there must be some significance to the banquet itself, particularly since this scene was displayed so prominently in the tomb. The idea that the reclining figure on its own could be a powerful symbol was first introduced in the early seventies by Jean-Marie Dentzer.[48] Dentzer argued that the pose could be traced back to the depiction of the banquet of Assurbanipal at Nineveh, where the king alone had the right to recline. Through the centuries, as the motif was adopted by the Parthians, and the Sassanians after them, the accoutrements of the banquet disappeared, but the reclining pose continued to be an indication of high social status.

It is clear that the reclining figure is important: he is set apart from others in the scene by his pose and (often) dress. However, the allusion may not only be to Persian royalty, but also to the involvement of the deceased in the religious activities of the city. Banqueting was an important part of Palmyrene religious practices.[49] The remains of banquet halls are still discernable in several of the sanctuaries in the city.[50] In addition, the terracotta tokens, known as *tesserae*, which were used to gain access to these ritual banquets, often feature a reclining figure which is very similar to that on the funerary reliefs.[51] Indeed, this type of reclining figure appears in only two places in Palmyrene art: the funerary reliefs and the *tesserae*.

The similarity of the reclining figure motif makes it probable that the Palmyrene men represented in the funerary reliefs are deliberately alluding to the religious banquets. Unfortunately, these *tesserae* do not give insight into the significance of Parthian dress: many of the men seem to be wearing the Greco-Roman style tunic and cloak, but the images are too small or crude to draw any real conclusions.[52] However, given that the men who are depicted on the *tesserae* are priests (recognized as such by

[48] Jean-Marie Dentzer, "L'Iconographie irannienne du souverain couché et le motif du banquet," *Annales archéologiques arabes syriennes* 21 (1971): 39-50.
[49] Ted Kaizer, *The Religious Life of Palmyra* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2002), 165; 221-29.
[50] Kaizer, 182.
[51] Not one *tessera* has ever been found in a funerary context: Henri Seyrig, "Les tessères palmyréniennes et le banquet rituel," in *Mémorial Lagrange* (Paris, 1940), 52; for more on these *tesserae* and sacred banquets: see Khaled Al-As'ad, Françoise Briquel-Chatonnet, and Jean-Baptiste Yon, "The Sacred Banquets at Palmyra and the Function of the Tesserae: Reflections on the Tokens Found in the Arsu Temple," in *A Journey to Palmyra; Collected Essays to Remember Delbert R. Hillers*, ed. Eleonora Cussini (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005), 1-10.
[52] Harald Ingholt, Henri Seyrig, and Jean Starcky, *Recueil des tessères de Palmyre* (Paris, 1955).

the *modius*, as well as several inscriptions which identify them as priests of Bel[53]), it seems likely that the reason for the dress worn by those reclining in the banquet reliefs is not the elaborateness of the embroidery, but rather the restrictions imposed upon the appearance of the Palmyrene priest.

Priestly dress

It has long been recognized that the *modius* was an integral component of the sacerdotal costume of Palmyra.[54] It is the argument of this paper that, in addition to the *modius*, the garments worn on the body itself were also powerful signifiers of identity. In order to discern the pattern of priests differentiating themselves by means of their dress, it is necessary to return to the funerary portraiture. As noted above, most of the men depicted in the individual portrait busts wear the Greco-Roman tunic and cloak, with the right arm held in the sling created by the folds of the drapery (Fig. 6-1). There is a certain uniformity to these portraits, but some attempt is made to personalize them by placing objects, such as book rolls, in the hands of the deceased. Some of the men also hold items that are related to their professions. However, this connection between attributes and profession is clear for only two types: priests and cameleers. The priests usually hold objects associated with their sacerdotal activities: a jug and a bowl for incense.[55] For the cameleer, the hilt of a sword or whip can usually be seen in his hand.[56] In both cases, it is not only the attributes, but also the dress which distinguishes the men in these two professions: only those men holding objects which identify them as priests or cameleers eschew the tunic and cloak. In addition to their special hat, priests often (but not always) wear a riding cloak attached on the right shoulder with a fibula. Some priests do wear the Greco-Roman tunic and cloak, but the opposite is rarely seen in the portrait busts—a man wearing the cloak attached with a fibula who is not a priest. The cameleer would, on occasion, wear the cloak attached with a fibula,[57] but more often, his cloak would be thrown backwards across the shoulders.[58] Under this loose

[53] Ingholt, "Palmyrene Sculptures in Beirut," 34; Jean-Baptiste Yon, *Les notables de Palmyre.* (Beirut: Institut français d'archéologie du Proche-Orient, 2002), 133.
[54] Cf. n. 7.
[55] Rolf A. Stucky, "Prêtres syriens I. Palmyre," *Syria* 50 (1973): 175.
[56] Colledge, 68.
[57] Sadurska and Bounni, 186.
[58] Colledge, 147.

cloak, the cameleer usually wore a long-sleeved tunic.[59]

Recently, the funerary sculpture from fifteen underground tombs at Palmyra was published, allowing for analysis of style and iconography in the individual tombs as well as groups of tombs.[60] Considering only the males, there are approximately one hundred and twenty *loculi* portraits in the fifteen tombs. Of those one hundred and twenty portraits, twelve of the deceased can be identified as priests by their headgear. In other words, about ten percent of the men buried in these fifteen tombs are priests. In the same group of one hundred and twenty portraits, six men are wearing the *chlamys*, and of those six, four are also wearing the priestly *modius*. Thus, a pattern begins to emerge of the Palmyrene priest wearing a style of dress or holding attributes which distinguish him. In so doing, the priests stand out as one of the only social groups that can be identified in the portraiture.[61] In addition to this indication that priests used dress to set themselves apart, there is clear evidence that their appearance was regulated when they wore the priestly headgear.

There are two ways of displaying the *modius* in Palmyrene funerary art. It can either be worn on the head, or placed on an adjacent pedestal. However, when the priest wears the cylindrical cap on his head, he is, without exception, clean-shaven. He also appears to have shaved his head, as no hair is visible.[62] This pattern is particularly striking after 150 A.D., when it was fashionable to have a beard.[63] Alternatively, in some of the individual *loculi* portraits and in many of the banqueting scenes, the *modius* is placed on a podium or cushion adjacent to the subject. Contrary to the look of those who wear the *modius*, when the *modius* is not worn on the head, the subject is always bearded.

This difference in appearance caused some scholars to speculate about the status of those men who are not actually wearing the *modius* on their heads. The generally accepted conclusion is that these men are not priests:

> In the absence of literary documents it is, of course, extremely difficult to get an adequate idea of the laws governing the clergy, but we propose, with due reserve, to regard the clean-shaven Palmyrenes with the modius headdress as the real priests, and the bearded men represented with the modius on a column or a cushion, as belonging to a lower rank within the clergy, or laymen who, in recognition of some religious benevolence, had received the modius, but without the right to wear it.[64]

[59] Dentzer-Feydy and Teixidor, 71.

[60] Anna Sadurska and Adnan Bounni, *Les sculptures funéraires de Palmyre* (Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 1994).

[61] Klaus Parlasca, "La sculpture grecque et la sculpture d'époque romaine impériale en Syrie," in *Archéologie et histoire de la Syrie,* eds. Jean-Marie Dentzer and Winfried Orthmann (Saarbrucker, 1989), 547.

[62] This phenomenon prompted Seyrig to postulate that the men had to shave their heads at the moment of initiation (*Syria* 22, 1941, 267ss, cited by Stucky, "Prêtres syriens," 175, n.1).

[63] Harald Ingholt, "Palmyrene sculptures in Beirut," *Berytus* I (1934): 32-43.

It is also possible that the men who displayed the *modius* in the background had been priests at some point in the past, but were now retired.[65] However, it should be clarified that even when the *modius* was actually worn by those depicted in the funerary portraiture, there was never an accompanying inscription that identified the man as a priest.

There is only one known inscription in which the deceased male is identified as a priest, and he does not display the *modius* at all. He does, however, hold liturgical objects: a balsamarium, a round incense box, and an olive branch. The portrait bust comes from the Hypogeum of the family of Artaban, son of 'Ogga. The inscription reads: "Artaban, who is named Zabdûn, son of Malkû, son of Yarhai, (son of) Nida, the good priest of Aglibol and Malakbel."[66] This specific identification of Artaban as a priest of Aglibol and Malakbel, in addition to the absence of the *modius*, led to the conclusion that only priests of Bel, regardless of whether they wore Greek or Parthian dress, could wear the *modius*. It is true that only the priests of Bel are mentioned on the *tesserae.* Certainly, there are *tesserae* which mention other gods,[67] but the *modius*-wearing men on the reverse side of these tokens are not identified as a priest of any particular deity.

Other scholars have argued the *modius* was not reserved for priests of Bel, but rather that it could be worn by priests dedicated to other cults as well.[68] Corroboration for this viewpoint is seen in a relief found in the sanctuary of Nebo.[69] The relief features three men, who are identified in

[64] Ingholt, "Palmyrene sculptures in Beirut," 34-35.

[65] Kaizer, 236.

[66] Sadurska and Bounni, 27; However, Ted Kaizer points out that the word for 'priest' (*'pkl'*) in this inscription is unusual. The usual title is *kmr'*. Kaizer speculates that this difference in terminology reflects a status difference. Kaizer, 236, n. 120.

[67] Ingholt, Seyrig, and Starcky, #298, for example.

[68] Ingholt, "Palmyrene Sculptures in Beirut," 34, n. 27

[69] For the relief, see Katsumi Tanabe, *Sculptures of Palmyra I, Memoirs of the Ancient Orient Museum I* (Tokyo: Ancient Orient Museum, 1986), pl. 173; for the inscription, see J.T. Milik, *Dédicaces faites par des dieux (Palmyra, Hatra, Tyr) et des thiases sémitiques à l'époque romaine* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1972), 164.

the accompanying inscription as three generations of the same family. All three men wear a plain *modius*, which suggests that priests devoted to the god Nebo also had the right to wear it. It is worth noting that the dress of the grandfather, who is seated, is different from that of his son and grandson. He is wearing loose, Parthian-style trousers under a cloak. His son and grandson, who stand on either side, are wearing identical long tunics, which are belted at the waist. If indeed the *modius* identified these men as priests, and presumably all priests of Nebo, what does their dress indicate? It seems unlikely that the difference in dress was unintentional. Regardless of the ambiguity surrounding the status of those who did not actually wear the *modius*, it is clear that when it *was* worn, there were regulations governing the appearance of the wearer: his face, and possibly his head, had to be clean-shaven. Thus, it seems reasonable to expect that the attire of this *modius*-wearing priest would also have been controlled in some way.

Evidence for this control over priestly dress is seen in the main sanctuary of the city, dedicated to Bel, the main god of the Palmyrene pantheon. Men whose headgear identifies them as priests are portrayed in a variety of dress styles in several of the reliefs that adorn the peristyle beams of the Temple of Bel.[70] In two different reliefs, *modius*-wearing men are depicted burning incense. In the first relief, eight men are discernable, grouped around two incense burners.[71] It is difficult to make out their dress, but at least two of the men who stand together are obviously wearing matching attire: long tunics belted at the waist. Two other men, again side by side, are also wearing identical draped cloaks, with their right arms in the slings created by the drapery.

In the second relief, the men are grouped in pairs, with six pairs flanking six incense burners.[72] Though this relief is also in bad shape, the dress of two of these groups can be discerned. Again, as seen in the previous relief, the men in each pair are wearing similar attire. The two men furthest to the right in the relief are wearing loose trousers and a cloak. In the next pair, the dress consists of a long tunic belted at the waist, as well as cloaks which fall behind the back to the knees. The remaining four groups are too fragmentary to provide good evidence of their attire.

Another crossbeam relief from the peristyle of the Temple of Bel provides additional evidence of priestly dress. The relief depicts the

[70] Henri Seyrig, "Antiquités syriennes 17: Bas-reliefs monumentaux du temple de Bel à Palmyre," *Syria* (1934): 154-86.
[71] Seyrig, "Bas-reliefs monumentaux, " pl. 18.
[72] Ibid., pl. 23.

sanctuary of 'Aglibol and Malakbel, with the gods featured in the center.[73] Two men, who are identified as priests,[74] stand off to one side and are again dressed alike – in loose shirts and trousers.

This pattern of priests who are dressed in a similar fashion while depicted in pairs indicates that they were deliberately dressing in a like manner, and that there may have been a special dress for religious activities.[75] This variety of the dress in a sanctuary nominally dedicated to Bel caused one scholar to speculate that the *modius* alone was the significant article of priestly clothing.[76] However, the sanctuary of Bel was not dedicated to Bel alone, but was considered to be a holy place for a number of Palmyrene gods.[77] Thus, the pairs of men dressed alike could easily be priests of the different cults. We know that groups of men (*thiasoi*) at Palmyra were devoted to the worship of particular deities.[78]

It seems likely that the priests of different cults wore special dress when participating in sacerdotal activities such as ritual banquets or burning of incense.[79] In non-ritual activities, their dress would presumably not be regulated. However, one would assume that an allusion to ritual banquets, such as that seen in the funerary portraiture, would involve not only the reclining figure motif, but also a specific style of dress. This would explain why the same wealthy Palmyrene man appears twice on his funerary relief, each time wearing a different style of dress. He is depicted on the lid in the usual banqueting pose, wearing Parthian dress; but he also appears on the side of the sarcophagus, this time wearing the Roman toga.[80] It should be noted that in the case of ritual banquets, the power of the dress would come not only from membership in a particular community or from association with a particular god, but also from the activities associated with this group, including the distribution of material goods.[81]

[73] Ibid., pl. 22.
[74] Michal Gawlikowski, "Les dieux de Palmyre," *Aufsteig und Neidergang der römischen Welt* 18.4 (1990): 2615.
[75] Butcher, 331.
[76] Stucky, 176.
[77] Gawlikowski, "Les dieux," 2615; Kaizer, 75.
[78] For an extended discussion, see Milik, 1972; see also Kaizer, 213-259.
[79] Goldman, 166.
[80] Schmidt-Colinet and As'ad, 40-42
[81] See Kaizer, 221: "Ritual dining and drinking necessarily fulfilled certain functions of redistributing material goods and exchanging immaterial concepts within a wider society, and accordingly participation could have a wide range of effects on the way in which worshippers conceived their position within that society."

The notion that priests devoted to the different cults identified themselves as such by means of their appearance was suggested by Rolf Stucky in 1973. Though Stucky focused on the *modius* in his analysis, his argument is worth reviewing here because of the similar supposition that appearance—in this case the type of wreath which adorned the *modius*—corresponded to the cult with which the priest was associated.

The *modius* was occasionally worn unadorned, with just two parallel furrows running down the front. An example of this is seen in the previously described relief found in the sanctuary of Nebo, depicting three generations of priests. Since all three men wear the same style of *modius*, it is unlikely that the plain *modius* was the sign of a novice.[82] However, in this particular case, the *modius* would very soon be adorned: the grandson is shown in the act of raising a laurel wreath, preparing to put it on the *modius* of his grandfather. The significance of this wreath is not entirely clear. It seems likely that its presence signifies an honor that a Palmyrene could receive, regardless of whether he were a priest or not. The relief from the temple of Nebo indicates that the grandfather was already a priest when he received his wreath, but it is possible that the honor might be bestowed upon a lay person. Indeed, there are funerary portraits of men who are not wearing the *modius* and whose hair is adorned with the wreath.[83]

The wreaths which adorned the *modii* were made up of three different types of leaves: laurel, olive, or oak.[84] Stucky speculated that these variations were not related to aesthetics, but rather that the different leaves identified priests devoted to the different cults. For example, those men wearing the *modius* adorned with a wreath of olive leaves could be priests of Ba'alshamin, since evidence from the sanctuary linked the olive branch with his cult.[85] Stucky then made a similar argument for the priests of Bel, suggesting that these priests wore laurel wreaths on their sacerdotal caps. The evidence of this preference for laurel is seen on the *tesserae* of the *thiasos* of the priests of Bel, according to Stucky, where laurel branches frame the central image. Unfortunately for his argument, the same branches are seen on *tesserae* bearing the image of other deities, as Stucky himself admits. Also, there is no indication that laurel was as prominent in the sanctuary of Bel, as the olive branch was in the sanctuary of

[82] Ibid., 180, n. 3.
[83] For example, the head of a Palmyrene male from the National Museum of Archaeology in Damascus (1519/3332), Charles-Gaffiot, Lavagne, and Hofman, Fig. 7.
[84] Ibid., 172.
[85] Ibid., 178.

Ba'alshamin.[86]

The most elaborate type of *modius* is adorned with both the wreath and a medallion or miniature portrait bust in the center. It is interesting to note that this miniature portrait bust shows the same patterning for facial hair as the larger busts: when the person depicted in miniature is wearing the *modius*, there is no visible facial hair, and when the miniature person is bearded, he does not wear the *modius*. In the case of these miniature busts, Stucky speculated that the choice between bearded or non-bearded was related to whether the ancestors of the current displayer of the *modius* had themselves been priests.[87] This idea that the miniature bust portrayed an ancestor was shared by Gawlikowski, but he postulated that the ancestor, having been made a hero, then became the object of an ancestor cult.[88]

Returning to the *modius*, and the evidence gleaned from the *tesserae* and the funerary portraiture, it has become clear that this headgear was a powerful symbol of membership in a certain priestly community, if not the entire priestly community. Secondly, members of that community took care to distinguish themselves by their dress. Thirdly, the choice of dress was neither accidental, nor frivolous; on the contrary, there is every indication that this decision was prescribed. That this control over appearance extended to more than just the head is demonstrated by the evidence from the Temple of Bel for priests dressing alike when participating in the same ritual. Thus, even when the *modius* was not worn, it seems likely that dress, when combined with other banqueting motifs, could also be a powerful signifier of participation in ritual activities.

Conclusion

It is important to understand the motivation of the wealthy Palmyrene when considering the garments worn in his funerary portraiture because it allows for a better understanding of the social relations in Roman Palmyra. To argue that he was choosing the Parthian dress because it was fancy, and dismissing the Greco-Roman tunic and cloak because they were "drab," does not account for the power of dress in the expression of identity. It is clear from the evidence that priests had an important role in Palmyrene society, even before the Romans took control.[89] Therefore, alluding to

[86] Ibid., 179.
[87] Ibid., 180.
[88] Michal Gawlikowski, "Les prêtres de Palmyre. Problèmes d'iconographie," *Etudes Palmyréniennes*, vol 1, ed., Kazimierz Michalowski (Warsaw, 1966), 95.
[89] See Kaizer, 233, for the early and sustained evidence for the importance of the 'priests of Bel'

participation in sacerdotal activities by using the motif of the reclining figure or a particular style of dress would have done much to enhance the prestige of the deceased. An acknowledgement of this kind of complexity in the creation and maintenance of social power will allow archaeologists to better understand why such a variety of material culture is seen in those communities which were controlled by the Romans.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

APPEARANCE, DIVERSITY, AND IDENTITY IN ROMAN BRITAIN

JUDITH ROSTEN

The body is central to social interaction,[1] and the construction of appearance, through clothing, hairstyling, jewelry, make-up, body decoration etc, can have a dramatic effect on this performance.[2] Given this, appearance is considered a form of non-verbal communication, with the vocabulary of dress manipulated to give meaning.[3] Each society reconstructs the body in its own way, to reflect cultural, sub-cultural and individual values.[4] Looking at the artifacts used to create past appearances therefore provides a potential insight into the complexity of social identities, as guided by the values of that society. This paper examines the role of personal adornment items within the community of south-east Roman Britain. Using a range of artifacts, from jewelry to grooming equipment, it demonstrates how context, both in terms of site type (e.g. urban, rural) and activity setting (daily life compared to burial), was an important factor in determining how appearance was constructed.

In studies of the Roman period it is common to rely on visual evidence—statuary, paintings, mosaics—and surviving texts for insight into appearance and the use of adornment across the Roman Empire. Given the very visual nature of appearance and the fact that such sources can provide direct imagery of how items were worn and what they looked like, this reliance is hardly surprising, and it is fortunate this material has survived. However, the highly variable cultural development across the

[1] Anthony Synnott, *The Body Social: Symbolism, Self and Society* (London: Routledge, 1993), 262.
[2] Michael B. Schiffer, *The Material Life of Human Beings: Artefacts, behaviour and communication* (London: Routledge, 1999), 24.
[3] Alison Lurie, *The Language of Clothes* (London: Heinemann, 1981), 3-4.
[4] Synnott, 36-37.

provinces,[5] combined with variable preservation and survival means that province to province the material available to archaeologists is also very different. Furthermore, these types of visual evidence are representative of only a small proportion of the population, most commonly those who were able to afford commemoration in such ways.[6] In many cases, and for many people, we have only the surviving examples of personal adornment—brooches, rings, hairpins, etc—to rely on, supported by cross-provincial comparisons to areas where evidence is more prevalent.

Such is the case for Roman Britain. In a cultural climate where sculpture was little used, and with limited survival of most organic materials, it is the metal, bone, glass, and mineral jewelry items on which we must base our studies (Fig. 7-1). Items associated with personal adornment commonly form more than fifty percent of excavation small finds on Romano-British sites.[7] To ignore these is to waste a vast body of potentially highly informative data.

A number of studies have started to address this material, but for the most part these focus either on the identification of foreign groups among the Romano-British population,[8] or on broad-ranging regional distribution patterns.[9] When looking at the social significance of adornment, for most people it would have been the day-to-day interactions during which expressions of identity were developed, manipulated, and maintained through the use of this aspect of material culture. This is not to say that such studies are not important; in fact, it is quite the opposite. It is through

[5] David J. Mattingly, "Being Roman: expressing identity in a provincial setting," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 17 (2004): 5; Greg Woolf, "Beyond Romans and Natives," *World Archaeology* 28.3 (1997): 347.
[6] Aubrey Cannon, "Material Culture and Burial Representativeness," in *Grave Reflections: Portraying the Past Through Cemetery Studies*, ed. Shelly R. Saunders and Ann Herring (Canadian Scholars' Press Ltd: Toronto, 1995), 5; John Pearce, "Burial, society and context in the provincial Roman World," in *Burial, Society and Context in the Roman World*, ed. John Pearce, Martin Millett and Manuela Struck (Oxford: Oxbow, 2000), 4.
[7] Nicholas J. Cooper, "Rubbish Counts: Quantifying Portable Material Culture in Roman Britain," in *Researching Material Culture*, ed. Susan Pearce (Leicester: University of Leicester, 2000), 83.
[8] See for example the work by Giles Clarke, *The Roman Cemetery at Lankhills* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), and Hilary E.M. Cool, *The Roman Cemetery at Brougham, Cumbria: Excavations 1966-67* (London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 2004).
[9] See for example the work of Nina Crummy and Hella Eckardt, "Regional Identities and Technologies of the Self: Nail-Cleaners in Roman Britain," *Archaeological Journal* 160 (2003): 44-69.

these studies that it has become apparent just how much information may be revealed through a more detailed approach to personal adornment finds; one that allows us to see how the everyday lives of people may have been affected.

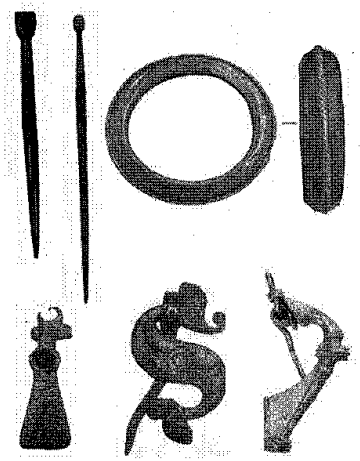

Fig. 7-1 Selection of jewelry from Roman Britain, including hairpins, a bracelet and brooches (Vindolanda Trust ©).

A more refined approach has begun to be developed with the recent analysis of four artifact types associated with appearance: nail cleaners, and three different brooch types.[10] By looking at the site type from which each item was recovered (military, urban, rural, etc.), and working out both the percentage of finds per site type and the proportion of the different site types to one another, Eckardt was able to show that the social distribution[11] and location distribution do not directly correlate. To explain this more clearly, the example of knee brooches can be given. Forty-nine percent of these were found at military sites, but military sites represented

[10] Hella Eckardt, "The Social Distribution of Roman Artefacts: the case of nail-cleaners and brooches in Britain," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 18 (2005): 139-60.
[11] Social distribution refers to the commonality of use in different contexts for any given item.

only thirty-five percent of the sites from which they had been recovered. As such, this shows that although knee brooches were recovered from a number of different settlement types, they were concentrated on, though not exclusive to, military sites.[12] This increasing complexity of personal adornment analysis is beginning to show some interesting use patterns, but it can be taken further. Studies using different scales of approach need to be used in conjunction with one another so that the interplay between local, regional, and national identities can be mapped.

Another aspect of analysis also needs to be addressed. Many studies of personal adornment small finds tend to analyze each component separately, i.e. analysis of brooches is separate to that of bracelets, or finger rings. Although appearance is constructed from these separate components, along with clothing and body language (though sadly the former is rarely preserved and the latter is difficult to reconstruct), it is the way they all combine that creates the final appearance. To look at each item in isolation, without then linking it back to its use in relation to other adornment items, restricts our understanding of the way in which appearance was manipulated.

On the rare occasion when adornment items are looked at in combination, this is almost exclusively limited to burial finds. This is understandable given the direct correlation between both the different classes of items and specific individuals, but it effectively ignores the vast amount of material available from settlement finds, which, as Eckardt's study has indicated, have the potential to provide much information on the social use of adornment.

Research Setting

This study will look specifically at the distribution of personal adornment artifacts on a local scale.[13] Regional and artifact-specific analyses have already suggested that appearance *across* the province varied.[14] However, it is unlikely that if personal adornment display was

[12] Eckardt, 156.
[13] This research forms part of the author's thesis, undertaken at the University of Leicester, UK.
[14] For example, Hilary E.M. Cool, "Roman Metal Hair Pins from Southern Britain," *Archaeological Journal* 147 (1990); Crummy and Eckardt; Eckardt; Sophia Jundi and J.D. Hill, "Brooches and Identities in First Century AD Britain: More than meets the eye?" in *TRAC 97 Proceedings of the Seventh Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference*, ed. Colin Forcey, John Hawthorne and Robert Witcher (Oxford: Oxbow, 1998), 125-37.

significant that it would *only* be used for regional identity display. If being used to express ideas of group affiliation, regional identities would form only part of this complex system of communication, and other aspects such as status and wealth may also have been demonstrated through personal adornment.[15] By looking at a number of different site types located within the vicinity of one another and comparing their assemblages, we can begin to appreciate how this language operated on the scale that would have been most relevant to those occupying the sites. The inability to link settlement finds to specific individuals, as can be done with burial data, means that certain aspects of identity such as age and gender cannot be determined, but variations between the assemblages may indicate subtle differences in use between sites.

There are, of course, a number of problems with using settlement data in this way, not least that movement between sites, and therefore deposition of artifacts, would not have been restricted solely to those actually living there. This, in turn, raises the question of the extent to which settlement finds actually do represent lost items rather than artifacts specifically chosen for deposition, for whatever reason. Selective deposition, as opposed to casual loss, has been increasingly recognized in recent years, although the extent of this in Roman Britain is not yet fully understood.[16] However, the wealth of evidence (statuary, burial, etc.) suggests that the primary role of personal adornment was as worn items; that some items may have been deposited in a ritual situation does not detract from their primary role. It is, of course, possible that some items were never worn, being reserved specifically for special deposition, but even in this situation, unless the item deposited was of an exceptional nature, such deposits would still reflect the range of personal adornment articles available at any given settlement. As such, the presence of these

[15] Ian Hodder, *Reading the Past.* 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 126-28; Lurie, *et al.*, "Reconstructing Roman Clothing," in *The World of Roman Costume*, ed. Judith Lynn Sebesta and Larissa Bonfante (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2001), 216. How the ideas discussed by these authors relate to the Roman period can be seen through a number of examples, such as the wearing of togas in Rome to denote rank, and the use of crossbow brooches in the later third-fourth centuries A.D. in the western provinces to denote official and military status: Shelley Stone, "The Toga: From National to Ceremonial Costume," in *The World of Roman Costume*, ed. Judith Lynn Sebesta and Larissa Bonfante (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2001), 13; Ellen Swift, *Regionality and Dress Accessories in the late Roman West* (Montagnac: Editions Monique Mergoil, 2000), 3.

[16] J.D Hill, *Ritual and Rubbish in the Iron Age of Wessex: a study on the formation of a specific archaeological record* (Oxford: Tempus Reparatum, 1995).

items would still be informative. Given this, the context of deposition within each site should not have a detrimental affect on the personal adornment assemblage profile from the site.

To minimize variables other than site type, sites used in the following case study are from the south-eastern civilian zone of Roman Britain (roughly corresponding to the present day county of Hertfordshire), linked to one another on the same road network, and no more than 30km apart (Fig. 7-2). This is important as we may assume that all sites would have had access to the same goods; there being no known barriers (geographical, frontiers) within the zone. As such, any differences between the data cannot be put down to differential access in terms of geographical limitations, and are instead more likely to be the result of social reasons. Furthermore, by using sites that would have been easily accessible to one another we are also able to assume that there was contact between the inhabitants of the different sites, and that any personal adornment may have played an important role in communicating differences in these encounters.

This approach assumes that discrete sections of the population were living at different sites—agricultural communities at rural sites, wealthy individuals in villas—and differences between these types of communities may have been stated visually. Identities that may have crosscut socio-economic boundaries such as age and gender will not be revealed through such analysis, as these require the input from skeletal information to be determined. However, this is the first step in the development of a methodology for analyzing appearance and personal adornment from the vast amount of material provided through settlement site excavations.

Another source of evidence comes from the comparison of settlement and burial material. This is only possible at sites that not only have surviving settlement and cemetery areas, but have also undergone extensive excavation programs in both contexts. Burial and settlement data are rarely analyzed in conjunction with one another, as burials represent highly ritualized activities[17] and are therefore not considered compatible with "casual loss" data from settlement contexts. However, it will be argued that in order to understand the use of personal adornment in burials, the availability of the articles chosen to be deposited needs to be understood. By assessing the range and extent of material on the settlement, and comparing this to adornment recovered from burials, it may be possible to determine the degree of selective deposition taking

[17] E-J. Pader, *Symbolism, Social Relations and the Interpretation of Mortuary Remains* (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1982), 99.

place in the burials. If the profile of finds from each context is at variance it may suggest that some personal adornment items were chosen specifically for burials. This is not to suggest that burials may be more ritually significant than daily situations, but rather that the specific context of this type of event may serve to draw out or emphasize aspects of identity not demonstrated as prominently in everyday usage. Indeed, it is a modern day assumption that personal adornment was actually used for anything other than self-decoration, and it is only by demonstrating changing use patterns in different situations, be it between variable settlement types or different contexts, that we can begin to understand if and how adornment was used as a means of communication.

Although it cannot be guaranteed that burial areas next to settlements were directly associated and used by the same population, it is a plausible assumption; though this does need to be explored in more detail.[18] Another problem is that burials probably represent only a proportion of the population,[19] and that those accompanied with personal adornment items represent an even smaller minority.[20] Furthermore, the items of personal adornment that do survive archaeologically are most likely to be those that imply a degree of wealth, as these consist largely of metal (hairpins being the exception, as these were commonly made of bone, an easily available and cheap material). Metal items would have been relatively costly in the ancient world due to the rarity of metal, compared to materials such as bone, combined with the quantity of additional materials required not only to collect ores, but to then turn them into finished products.[21] Objects in precious materials (gold, silver, gems, amber, etc.) would have had a more limited distribution, but they were used for, or decorated, the same range of items—brooches, hairpins, bracelets, necklaces, finger-rings—as less valuable materials. As such, the range of personal adornment available as indicated by settlement finds can be used for comparison to the range of burial finds.

[18] Lucas Quensel-von-Kalben, "Putting Late Roman burial practice in Britain in context," in *Burial, Society and Context in the Roman World*, ed. John Pearce, Martin Millett and Manuela Struck (Oxford: Oxbow, 2000), 229.
[19] Manuela Struck, "High status burials in Roman Britain (first-third century A.D.) - potential interpretation," in *Burial, Society and Context in the Roman World*, ed. John Pearce, Martin Millett and Manuela Struck (Oxford: Oxbow, 2000), 86.
[20] Robert A. Philpott, *Burial Practices in Roman Britain: A survey of grave treatment and furnishings A.D. 43 - 410* (Oxford: Tempus Reparatum, 1991), 136.
[21] Tracey E. Rihll, "Making Money in Classical Athens," in *Economies Beyond Agriculture in the Classical World*, ed. David J. Mattingly and John Salmon (London: Routledge, 2001), 129.

In this way the use of adornment will be explored on two levels, inter- and intra-site analyses. If adornment were used by communities to express aspects of their identity, such a double approach will provide an increased chance of detecting this, and will begin to show some of the contexts and variables that influenced its use.

Case Study

Five sites were used for the settlement analysis—Dunstable, Braughing, Baldock, Verulamium and Gorhambury—the first four of which also have cemetery data that can be used for the intra-site analysis. These sites cover a range of types, from rural settlements with no official function in the Roman period (Dunstable, Braughing and Baldock), to a *municipium* (Verulamium), and a villa (Gorhambury). As previously stated, all these sites were within easy distance of one another and were connected through the same road network. (Fig. 7-2).

The finds records for the sites are quite inconsistent because of their varied histories of excavation. Verulamium, for example, has been excavated since the 1920s, with more than ten different site directors to date, each investigating different parts of the settlement. Given the varying qualities of excavation, contextual and chronological information for many finds at these sites are not fully recorded. Thus, developing a profile of finds distributions by anything more discrete than the "Roman period" is not possible. However, all were occupied throughout the Roman period, and given their proximity to one another, would have been open to the same economic forces and range of goods, so differences between the assemblages, although not refined by date, should indicate genuine generalized differences in personal adornment used in each location.

Broad trends already identified for personal adornment use in the western provinces of the Roman Empire, including Britain, can begin to address this problem with dating, albeit on a relatively crude scale. It has been shown that certain items, notably brooches and finger-rings, were more common in the first two centuries following the conquest, whereas bracelets and necklaces became more common in the third-fourth centuries A.D.[22] Although all these items were used throughout the entire Roman period, the assemblages can be discussed in light of these generalized patterns. This is perhaps most useful for settlement finds, as burials tend to be better dated and have a more discrete time-span than the occupation dates of settlements.

[22] Swift, 6.

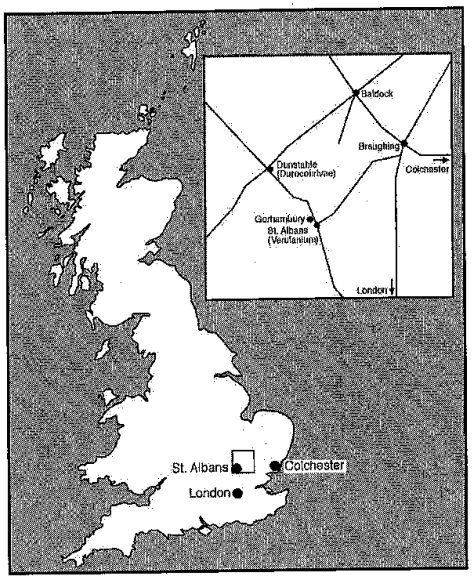

Fig. 7-2 Location map of study area.

Having said this, of the four sites in the sample with associated cemeteries—Dunstable, Braughing, Baldock, and Verulamium—only the cemetery at Dunstable has a restricted time period, dating as it does to the third – fourth/fifth centuries.[23] At each of the remaining sites, the multiple cemeteries associated with them means that, when combined, they cover much the same time-span as the settlements (Appendix I). Given that the settlement data are not distinguished by context, the data from the individual cemeteries at each site are also combined in order to generate an overall cemetery assemblage profile of the personal adornment, thereby allowing a comparative analysis. [24]

[23] Charles Leslie Matthews, *Ancient Dunstable* (Dunstable: Manshead Archaeological Society, 1989), 1.

[24] Ideally, the finds from each cemetery would be compared to the settlement assemblage separately but this analysis is outside the bounds of this paper. Further, this would require the number of cemetery finds to be significant so there would be enough data to allow comparative analysis with the settlement assemblage, and the more limited finds from the burial contexts make the quantities involved often too small to do this.

Both inhumations and cremations are represented, with a combination of both at all sites, except Dunstable where the cemetery contained only inhumations.[25] This is largely due to the longevity of occupation at the sites resulting in the changing burial practices seen in Britain during the Roman period; a move from cremation in the first two centuries A.D. to inhumation in the third to fourth centuries A.D.[26] Inhumations provide the opportunity to distinguish between worn and unworn grave goods, whereas personal adornment included in cremation burials is most likely to have been added after the act of cremation as items placed on the pyre rarely survive in identifiable form.[27] Can the data from the two be reconciled? Combining the inhumation and cremation material to develop a cemetery profile is the first step. That some items were worn and others were placed in the burials as grave goods will not alter the range of goods selected for inclusion in burial. Worn items were not necessarily all worn at the same time by the deceased during their life, nor necessarily owned or worn by them at all, given the potential influence of the mourners and the possibility that the deceased were "dressed-up" for burial. Indeed, the care given to the mortuary rite (as shown by the fact they were cremated or inhumed) perhaps makes it more likely that some may also have been specially dressed for burial. What is significant is that whether worn or not, a process of selection was taking place, and so the difference between the two categories is not necessarily so very different in reality.

The Data

The personal adornment from each site was separated into the different components (hairpins, rings, brooches, etc.) so that, in the first instance, the frequency of each class of find at each site could be seen. In order to compare the material from the different sites, the relative proportions of the different items of personal adornment have been calculated for each

[25] Charles Leslie Matthews, "A Romano-British Inhumation Cemetery at Dunstable," *Bedfordshire Archaeological Journal* 15 (1981): 1-73.

[26] E.W. Black, "Romano-British Burial Customs and Religious Beliefs in South-East England," *Archaeological Journal* 143 (1986): 216.

[27] John Pearce, "From Death to Deposition: the sequence of ritual in cremation burials of the Roman period," in *TRAC 97: Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference*, ed. Colin Forcey, John Hawthorne and Robert Witcher (Oxford: Oxbow, 1998), 108.

assemblage, and are given as a percentage of the total assemblage. Footwear remains, that is, hobnails, have not been included in the settlement analysis because given the long history of excavation at the sites and changing archaeological practices over the last century, their recognition and recovery would have been so variable that recorded numbers are highly unlikely to be representative. Despite this, it is important to be aware of the contribution footwear gave to appearance. A massive range of styles were available, as evidenced by more than thirteen types recovered from Vindolanda in the late second century A.D. alone.[28] In addition, a range of decorative techniques including color dying, punching decorative designs into the leather, and/or adding gold leaf decoration, as found on shoes recovered from both London and Southfleet, Kent,[29] could be used to draw attention. Given the range of styles and decoration of hobnailed shoes, as well as non-hobnailed and wooden varieties that are likely to have existed,[30] shoes should be considered part of the repertoire of adornment items. In burials, where the discrete context is often excavated with much more care, the recovery of hobnails is much more reliable, and as such, they have been included in the list of personal adornment finds from the cemeteries (multiple hobnails from a single burial being given as a single example of footwear, unless multiple pairs of shoes were identifiable).

The discussion of footwear raises the question of what adornment actually consists of, and what, therefore, should be included among the artifacts singled out for the following analysis. As has already been listed, jewelry items form the main category of evidence when visual evidence and clothing remains are minimal. However, there is another subset of artifacts, those associated with grooming (tweezers, nail cleaners, ear-scoops), which, although not adornment *per se*, do contribute to our understanding of overall appearance. It is suggested that the social significance of adornment lies in the fact that appearance can be manipulated in such a way that it becomes a tool of communication, transmitting information about various aspects of the identities of the

[28] Carol van Driel-Murray, "Vindolanda and the Dating of Roman Footwear," *Britannia* 32 (2001): 186.
[29] Joan Alcock, *Life in Roman Britain* (London: B.T. Batsford/ English Heritage, 1996), 94-95.
[30] Carol van Driel-Murray, "Roman Footwear: a mirror of fashion and society," *Recent Research in Archaeological Footwear* 8 (1987): 33.

wearer.[31] Each aspect of appearance, the personal adornment, clothing, footwear, hairstyling, grooming, cosmetics, etc., combines to create the overall appearance.[32] They are not seen separately by the viewer but as a coherent whole. As such, the following data will also include an analysis of items used for grooming purposes, however, these will be analyzed separately from the adornment items as they contribute to a different aspect of appearance.

The results from the sites are presented in Table 7-1. It is instantly noticeable that there are some striking differences between the assemblages. The assemblages at Gorhambury and Verulamium are both dominated by hairpins, with brooches forming the second most common category. Of the remaining categories, beads, bracelets, and rings form relatively equal proportions, with other types of personal adornment being present in negligible quantities. The distribution at Dunstable is similar, but the difference in the proportion of hairpins to brooches is more extreme. The main personal adornment items present at Braughing and Baldock are almost the reverse of Gorhambury, Verulamium, and Dunstable, with brooches at both sites forming more than 65% of the assemblages, and hairpins less than 18%. The beads, bracelets, and rings form approximately half the proportion witnessed on the other sites.

By looking at the types of sites, these differences suggest some interesting possibilities regarding differential use of personal adornment among different groups. Gorhambury as a villa site, and Verulamium as a *municipium*, could both be considered "high status" sites. Furthermore, given the architectural/settlement styles employed and the political status given to the latter site, Roman, or rather, continental, influences are perhaps more evident here. Baldock and Braughing on the other hand, were rural settlement sites with neither political status nor many obvious trappings of "Roman" influence, bar the occasional masonry structure and their positioning in the Roman road system. Dunstable, as the smallest of the sites, with negligible evidence of any substantial buildings,[33] is

[31] For a discussion on how appearance can transmit information see Polly Wiessner, "Style and Social Information in Kalahari San Projectile Points," *American Antiquity* 48.2 (1983).
[32] Joanne B. Eicher, "Dress as Expression of Ethnic Identity," in *Dress and Ethnicity: Change across space and time*, ed. Joanne B. Eicher (Oxford: Berg, 1995), 1; Joanne B. Eicher and Mary Ellen Roach-Higgins, "Definition and Classification of Dress: implications for analysis of gender roles," in *Dress and Gender: Making and Meaning in Cultural Contexts*, ed. Ruth Barnes and Joanne B. Eicher (Oxford: Berg, 1992), 8-28.
[33] Matthews, *Ancient Dunstable*, 68.

	Verulamium (large town)		Gorhambury (villa)		Baldock (rural)		Braughing (rural)		Dunstable (rural)	
	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
Hairpin	40	823	33.5	61	17.1	82	6.2	8	56.1	23
Bead	9.6	198	12.1	22	2.9	14	3.8	5	7.3	3
Brace-let	13.8	284	11.5	21	6.9	33	5.4	7	12.2	5
Ring/ Intaglio	12.6	260	10.4	19	6.7	32	4.6	6	12.2	5
Chain/ Neck-lace/ Pendant	0.3	6	0	0	0	0	3.1	4	0	0
Amulet	0.2	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Earring	1.3	27	0	0	0.8	4	0.8	1	0	0
Gem	0	0	0.5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Brooch	22	453	31.9	58	65.6	315	76.2	99	12.2	5

Table 7-1 Personal adornment finds from the settlements (excluding hobnails).

somewhat of an anomaly, with its personal adornment assemblage more similar to those of the higher status sites than the sites of more similar settlement type. However, on closer inspection, the assemblage at Dunstable is quite different from all the sites; the percentage of hairpins being significantly higher, and the brooches significantly lower than that of either the other rural sites or the higher status settlements. It can be argued that the patterns displayed, and Dunstable's apparent disparity with this patterning, may be explained in terms of dress and appearance.

There is little direct evidence of dress styles in Roman Britain and much of our understanding of personal adornment and dress relies on inferences from sculptural and burial evidence from Gallia Belgica and the Germanies.[34] During the first two centuries A.D., female dress in Britain is thought to have consisted of a bodice overlaid with a tight fitting tunic, held together at the shoulders with brooches.[35] The discovery of pairs of

[34] Margaret E. Snape, *Roman Brooches from Northern Britain: A classification and a catalogue of brooches from sites on the Stanegate* (Oxford: Tempvs Resparatvm, 1993), 5.
[35] John P. Wild, "Textiles and Dress," in *A Companion to Roman Britain*, ed. Malcolm Todd (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), 306.

brooches joined by chains and so designed to be worn together, such as those from Chorley,[36] support this. Male dress, on the other hand, consisted of a short tunic, trousers, and a cloak.[37] Styles of dress changed over the course of the second century as the "Gallic coat," a voluminous tunic that did not require brooch fastenings, was adopted by men and women alike; men wearing a knee length version, and women a full length one.[38] Despite the common acknowledgement of the adoption of this clothing by the Romano-British population, the evidence is limited and interpretation is largely circumstantial and based on continental representations. As yet, depictions of women wearing this garb are limited to the military zones, the areas coming under strong external, continental influences. It is possible that this style represented a mode of dress used (and introduced) by foreign women following their relatives in the army.[39] If so, it may be that traditional dress styles continued to be worn in the civilian zone, particularly at more rural sites, but larger sites (and by extension their inhabitants) would have had more contact with, or even had a permanent population of, traders and foreigners. As such, these too may have been open to continental dress influences to a greater extent than more rural sites, and the lack of depictions could be explained in part by the limited use of stone commemorations among the civilian population of Britain.[40]

Verulamium and Gorhambury would have been just such sites, and the relatively low incidence of brooches may be explained by a greater adoption of newly introduced styles of dress. Baldock and Braughing, being smaller sites of little importance in terms of trade, with their massive dominance of brooches in the personal adornment assemblage, may indicate a continued use of traditional dress styles that required brooches.[41]

[36] Timothy W. Potter and Catherine Johns, *Roman Britain* (London: British Museum Press, 1992), 151.
[37] Sarah Adamson and Rosalind Niblett, "Verulamium: Excavations within the Roman Town 1986-88: The small finds," *Britannia* 36 (2006): 141; Alexandra T. Croom, *Roman Clothing and Fashion* (Stroud: Tempus, 2000), 136.
[38] Alcock, 91.
[39] David J. Mattingly, *An Imperial Possession: Britain in the Roman Empire, 54BC-AD409* (London: Allen Lane/Penguin, 2006), 209.
[40] Valerie Hope, "Words and Pictures: The interpretation of Romano-British Tombstones," *Britannia* 28 (1997): 247.
[41] At this point it should be noted that both Baldock and Braughing were more important as Iron Age settlements and the prominence of brooches may reflect this early prominence, which would have corresponded with the massive increase in deposition of brooches in south-east Britain know as the "fibula event horizon": J.D. Hill, "The Pre-Roman Iron Age in Britain and Ireland (ca. 800 B.C. to A.D.

Anthropological studies have suggested that when new dress styles are introduced, people in smaller and more isolated sites, and women in particular, often retain traditional dress styles for much longer than more metropolitan places.[42] It is possible that this phenomenon is displayed in the above sample. This suggestion is further supported if we turn to the archaeological evidence of the remaining items of adornment. Hairpins were a Roman introduction to Britain,[43] and at both Gorhambury and Verulamium they form the largest category of personal adornment items, whereas at Baldock and Braughing their presence is minimal in comparison to that of the brooches. This again implies that at sites where occupants were more likely to be under greater Roman influence, aspects of life, including appearance, were affected.

In this discussion, Dunstable has so far been excluded, as it does not fit with either the small settlements to which it is most similar in terms of site type, or the high status settlements, which its assemblage most resembles. However, closer inspection of the site type and assemblage may explain this apparent anomaly. As mentioned, Dunstable was the smallest of the sites, and its rural location suggests that the settlement was primarily agricultural. Other site finds, such as pottery, show that the site relied mainly on locally and regionally made goods.[44] This, combined with the lack of substantial buildings and the presence of only one metaled road,[45] implies that Dunstable was not an especially "wealthy" settlement.

Women's clothing of the first two centuries A.D., as outlined above, would have made extensive use of brooches. However, it is probable that such bodices would not have been worn by everyone, but more likely represented the richer elements of society for the following reasons: firstly, for a community engaged in heavy manual labor such as agriculture, neither tight fitting bodices nor brooch fastened shoulders would be suitable for durable, practical attire; secondly, the owning of brooches is likely to have required some outlay of wealth. The metals used

100): An Overview," *Journal of World Prehistory* 9.1 (1995): 85. In contrast, Dunstable, as far as we know, does not have any pre-Roman settlement.

[42] Joanne B. Eicher and Barbara Sumberg, "World fashion, Ethnic, and National Dress," in *Dress and Ethnicity: Change Across Space and Time*, ed. Joanne B. Eicher (Oxford: Berg, 1995), 298; Linda Welters, "Ethnicity in Greek Dress," in *Dress and Ethnicity: Change across space and time*, ed. Joanne B. Eicher (Oxford: Berg, 1995), 76.

[43] Cool, "Roman Metal Hair Pins from Southern Britain," 150.

[44] Andrew Mudd, "Early Roman Occupation on the site of the former Queensway Hall, Dunstable," *Bedfordshire Archaeology* 25 (2004): 152.

[45] Matthews, *Ancient Dunstable*, 67.

for brooches, predominantly copper alloys and iron, cannot be made into finished products directly from their natural state. The ores require collection, smelting (which itself requires more raw materials), in the case of copper, alloying, and working, all of which would have added to the "cost" of the finished items. When garments existed which could be woven in one piece,[46] and thus not be weak at the shoulders, it is unlikely that people involved in agricultural labor, who were probably towards the lower scale of the social strata, would have chosen to wear clothing that had to be worn with brooches. This has not, of course, taken into account male attire, but the tunic, trousers, and the Gallic coat thought to have been worn by men did not require brooches, other than for cloak fastenings. It is suggested, therefore, that the minimal presence of brooches at Dunstable may be an indication of the dress styles worn among poor agricultural communities, and women in particular.

The argument that the inhabitants at Dunstable were unlikely to have been able to afford (or to need) durable personal adornment is contradicted by the presence of hairpins. It would also imply that Roman style personal adornment was adopted by indigenous populations, in opposition to the evidence from the rural sites of Baldock and Braughing. Looking in more detail at the composition of this group of finds, 78% (18) of the hairpins are crafted from bone. This material would have been easily available, cheap, if not free, and did not require any special skill to carve into a hairpin.[47] This fact may explain both their commonality and the presence of Roman style personal adornment. With clothing not providing a means of display if, as suggested, it took the form of simple plain tunics, then the people at Dunstable may have looked to other forms of adornment. Hairpins, particularly those of bone, would have been readily available, and the fact that they happened to be of Roman introduction does not necessarily mean that this population was trying to emulate Roman styles of dress. It is probable that the practicality of the item as a means of keeping hair out of the way, as well as the ease of availability and limited cost, contributed to the uptake of hairpins. In terms of appearance, the presence of hairpins also, of course, suggests female hair was worn long, and this has implications for the display of another facet of identity – that of gender.

The presence of beads, rings, and bracelets, and the fact that they occur in proportions consistent with other sites, is not surprising. All these item types were present in the pre-Roman period, and following the conquest,

[46] Lindsay Allason-Jones, *Women in Roman Britain.* 2nd edition (London: CBA, 2005), 104.

[47] Nina Crummy, "Bone-Working at Colchester," *Britannia* 12 (1981): 285.

the number of styles and level of availability dramatically increased.[48] Their small, but continued presence cannot, therefore be considered unusual. It must be noted though that the assemblage from Dunstable is small, so the interpretation should not be taken as anything more than suggestion. It does, however, raise some interesting possibilities, which future studies of rural assemblages may be able to expand upon.

The collection of toilet implements from all sites is much smaller than that of the personal adornment assemblages, and so, as with the interpretations of Dunstable, they should only be taken as suggestion. Having said this, comparing the proportions of the different elements from each assemblage apparently shows some clear patterns, despite their small and varied sizes (Table 7-2). At all sites, the toilet implement assemblage is dominated by tweezers, at between 33-49%. Following this, nail cleaners, so-called because of their common association with toilet kits, although their actual use is not certain,[49] are the second most common category. The small size of the assemblages means that in some cases, items are represented by only a single example, making the statistical probability of absence very high, and reducing the likelihood of an accurate representation of usage. Given this, other than noting the presence of a range of grooming equipment, only the tweezers and nail cleaners provide any insight into grooming practices, and even these, in some cases, are present in minimal numbers. Despite this, the consistency of the distribution of these two items seems to imply that at all sites, similar grooming practices, or at least the use of the same range of grooming tools, were taking place. What this suggests is that although different communities may have accessed a different range of personal adornment, through which it may have been possible to identify different sections of the society, the body on which this material was overlaid was treated in similar ways by the different communities, at least in terms of archaeologically surviving evidence.

[48] Hilary E.M. Cool, *A Study of the Roman Personal Ornaments Made of Metal, Excluding Brooches, from Southern Britain* (Cardiff: University of Wales, 1983); Margaret Guido, *The Glass Beads of the Prehistoric and Roman Periods in Britain and Ireland* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), 4; Fraser Hunter, "Artefacts, regions and identities in the northern British Iron Age," in *The Later Iron Age in Britain and Beyond*, ed. Colin Haselgrove and Tom Moore (Oxford: Oxbow, 2007), 286-96.

[49] Hella Eckardt and Nina Crummy, "'Roman' or 'Native' Bodies in Britain: The Evidence of Late Roman Nail-Cleaner Strap Ends," *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 21.1 (2006): 84.

	Gorham-bury		Braugh-ing		Dunst-able		Baldock		Verulam-ium	
	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
Tweezers	41.9	18	33.3	3	42.9	3	46.3	25	49	98
Razor	2.3	1	11.1	1	14.3	1	0	0	0	0
Ligula	20.9	9	11.1	1	14.3	1	0	0	10.5	21
Ear-scoop	9.3	4	11.1	1	0	0	22.2	13	0	0
Nail file	2.3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Nail cleaner	23.3	10	22.2	2	14.3	1	24.1	13	24.5	49
Spatula	0	0	0	0	14.3	1	0	0	4.5	9
Cosmetic grinder	0	0	0	0	0	0	1.9	1	0	0
Toilet set	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	12
Comb	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.5	1
Mirror	0	0	11.1	1	0	0	5.5	3	5	10

Table 7-2 Toilet implement finds from the settlements.

Some possible differences between sites have been implied by the evidence from the settlement assemblages. Turning to the burial material provides another avenue of exploration into the use and potential significance of personal adornment, as the role of choice and context is taken into account. Archaeologically visible burials do not represent the entire population,[50] and of those that do survive, only a small proportion, on average around 10%, contain personal adornment items.[51] As such, the cemetery assemblages are much smaller than those for the settlements and as a result, any patterns revealed should be seen only as an indication of use. Despite these complications, for those who were accompanied by adornment in burial, whether worn or as grave goods, comparing the range and proportions of such items to that of the settlement finds may indicate whether specific items were reserved for this context.

Of the five settlement sites presented in the analysis above, four have cemetery data, the exception being Gorhambury. Of these, a special note needs to be made for Verulamium. One cemetery at this site, King Harry Lane, had an exceptionally high number of brooches. The cemetery was established in the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age and continued in use approximately twenty years after the conquest, the period from which

[50] Struck, 86.

[51] Philpott, 136.

nearly half the burials date.[52] However, the burials of post-conquest date clearly represent a continuing use of the site by the same community, following the earlier burial practices. Given this, and the fact that the exceptionally high number of brooches recovered (236) will distort the results from the remaining burial areas, this site has not been included in the data from Verulamium.[53] A small number of finds crossing the Late Iron Age/Roman boundary, for both the settlement and cemetery, are also included in the Baldock assemblage, but unlike King Harry Lane, the minimal quantities are not considered so problematic and they are included

	Braughing		Dunstable		Baldock		Verulamium (exc. KHL)	
	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
Hairpins/ Bands	11.1	1	13.5	5	25.9	22	2.7	1
Bead	0	0	2.7	1	3.5	3	16.2	6
Bracelet	33.3	3	48.6	18	9.4	8	59.5	22
Ring/ Intaglio	55.6	5	24	9	23.5	20	2.7	1
Chain/ Necklace/ Pendant	0	0	8.1	3	3.5	3	5.4	2
Amulet	0	0	0	0	0	0	2.7	1
Earring	0	0	0	0	1.2	1	0	0
Anklet	0	0	0	0	1.2	1	0	0
Brooch	0	0	0	0	30.6	26	10.8	4
Ring/ Earring	0	0	2.7	1	1.2	1	0	0

Table 7-3 Personal adornment finds from the burials.

in the analysis. Indeed, all the sites except Dunstable show some pre-Roman occupation and to exclude material from this period would be to

[52] Ian M. Stead and Valerie Rigby, *Verulamium: The King Harry Lane Site* (London: English Heritage, 1989). The dating in this report has been contested (see Domenic M. Mackreth, "Late La Tène brooch," in R.Thorpe and Josephine Sharman, "An Iron Age and Romano-British enclosure system at Normanton-le-Heath, Leicestershire," *Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society* 68 [1994]: 49-50), although this debate does not alter the arguments presented in this paper.

[53] An analysis of the King Harry Lane brooches is available in the King Harry Lane excavation report: Stead and Rigby, 1989.

create a false division in the histories of the sites and their use of material culture.

Whereas brooches and hairpins were prominent among the settlement assemblages, bracelets and finger rings form a much greater part of the burial data. There are some variations in this, Baldock with few bracelets and a greater proportion of hairpins and brooches, and Verulamium with few finger rings, but all in all, the distribution of personal adornment finds is quite different from that of the settlements. Brooches and hairpins can be considered functional items with a decorative purpose, whereas bracelets and finger rings (with the exception of signet rings) have no functional purpose. The inclusion of these particular types of personal adornment suggests that their deposition was related to the active choice of the mourners, rather than simply representing what the deceased had been wearing at the time of death. The preference for decorative items over functional items in the cemetery assemblages may indicate more personal items were favored for funerary contexts. However, it could be that what was included in burial was chosen in a much more practical manner by the mourners, in that decorative items could be spared by those still living, whereas practical items such as brooches could still have been used. Furthermore, personal items were thought to become imbued with the spirit of the owner,[54] and this perhaps held true for more decorative than functional items. Toilet implements were recovered from some burials, but rarely, and this supports the suggestion that functional items were not generally deposited in burial contexts.

What these results show is an apparently high degree of selection from the personal adornment repertoire for the items added to burials, and this has some interesting implications for how personal adornment may have been used and perceived. As such, this demonstrates the need for future studies to further investigate the material from burials, to see if these choices were related to specific aspects of identity such as age, sex, gender, etc. However, recognizing that there is a difference between the overall range of items available, as demonstrated by the settlement material, and those selected for burial, is an important first step in understanding the complexity of the use of personal adornment in Roman Britain.

[54] Bruno Barber and David Bowsher, *The Eastern Cemetery of Roman London* (London: MOLAS, 2000), 118.

Conclusion

Personal adornment provides just one aspect of the material culture of appearance, but analyzing its use can contribute greatly to our understanding of appearance as a communicative tool in past societies. The study presented here demonstrates this, showing that even when archaeological evidence is limited to surviving examples of adornment alone, much may be revealed.

In looking at the use of personal adornment at a range of site types, it has been possible to suggest that appearance may have been affected by the social position of each site and its occupants, and that the differential use of personal adornment among inhabitants would have aided some level of social identification. The context specific nature of this study was taken one step further, by comparing how the use of personal adornment varied not only between settlements, but also between these settlements and their burial populations. The evidence analyzed suggests that specific items of adornment from the repertoire available to the inhabitants (as shown by the settlement material) were selected for burials, and that this was relatively consistent across site types. As such, one might argue that although those occupying different settlements may have made differential use of personal adornment on a daily basis, at death, underlying social trends may have become dominant, cross-cutting these lived social trends.

The results presented in this paper are preliminary findings, showing the comparison of only five sites from a limited geographical area. However, even this limited case study has identified the important social role personal adornment played in Roman Britain. It has also shown that there is much still to be learned from the substantial body of personal adornment artifacts that are commonly recovered from archaeological excavations. Such work needs to be extended to cover more sites and a broader geographical expanse in the future, and it is hoped that detailed site and cemetery use of adornment may come to play a more prominent role in Roman archaeological studies. Having shown that adornment played a significant role in social interaction, further development of material culture based studies are essential to understand the full extent and complexity to which this was operating.

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APPENDIX I: THE CEMETERIES

Site	Cemetery	Burial Type	Date	Publication
Verulamium	St Stephens	Cremation	c.40-160	Davey; Rees[55]
		Inhumation	c.200-400	
	Verulam Hills Field	Inhumation	c.200-300	Anthony[56]
	-	Inhumation	c.200-400	Wheeler[57]
Braughing	Skeleton Green	Cremation	c.100-200	Partridge[58]
		Inhumations	c.300-400	Partridge[59]
	Cemetery A	Cremation		
	Cemetery B	Cremation	c.200-400	
Dunstable	-	Inhumation	c.200-300	Matthews[60]

[55] Norman Davey, "The Romano-British Cemetery at St. Stephens, near Verulamium," *Transactions of St Albans Architectural and Archaeological Society* (1935); Vyvyan F Rees, "The Romano-British Cemetery at St. Stephens: The 'Halsmeade' Site," *St Albans and Hertfordshire Architectural and Archaeological Society* (1937).

[56] Ilid E. Anthony, "Excavations in Verulam Hills Field, St Albans, 1963-4," *Hertfordshire Archaeology* 1 (1968).

[57] Mortimer Wheeler, "The Preliminary Excavations of Verulamium, 1930," *Transactions of St Albans Architectural and Archaeological Society* (1930).

[58] Clive Partridge, *Skeleton Green: A Late Iron Age and Romano-British Site* (London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 1981).

[59] Clive Partridge, "Excavations and Fieldwork at Braughing, 1968-73," *Hertfordshire Archaeology* 5 (1978): 22-108.

[60] Matthews, "A Romano-British Inhumation Cemetery at Dunstable."

Baldock	Royston Road	Inhumation/ cremation	c.50-450	Fitzpatrick-Matthews[61]
	Stane Street	Inhumation	c.20 BC-125 AD	
	Yeomanry Drive	Cremation	c.1-125 AD	
	California	Cremation	c.50 BC-50AD /c.250-500	
	Icknield Way East	Inhumation/ cremation	c.25 BC-40AD	
	Icknield Way East	Inhumation	c.175-425	
	Merica Road	Cremation	c.1-50	
	Wallington Road	Inhumation/ cremation	c.50 BC-310 AD	
	Area 12&13	Inhumation	c.250-410	Westell[62]
	Brewery Field	Inhumation	c.250-410	
	Walls Field	Cremation/inhumation	c.50-310	
	The Tene	Inhumation	c.100-300	Stead & Rigby[63]

[61] Keith Fitzpatrick-Matthews, J. and Gill Burleigh, *Excavations at Baldock 1978-1994: fieldwork by Gil Birleigh* (Norwich: East Anglian Archaeology, forthcoming).

[62] William P. Westell, "A Romano-British Cemetery at Baldock, Herts," *Archaeological Journal* (1931).

[63] Ian M. Stead and Valerie Rigby, *Baldock: The excavations of a Roman and pre-Roman settlement 1968-72* (London: The Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 1986).

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